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A THEORY

OF

EQUALITY;

OR,

THE WAY TO MAKE

EVERY

MAN ACT HONESTLY.

BY JOHN CAMPBELL.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN B. PERRY,
NO. 198 MARKET STREET.
NEW YORK:—NAFIS AND CORNISH.

1848.

HB 171
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ENTERED, according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1848, by

JOHN CAMPBELL,

in the office of the Clerk of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

J. Van Court, Printer, Quarry street.

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DEDICATION.

TO MESSRS. LAMARTINE, ARAGO, ARMALD MARAST MARE, GARNIER PAGE, DUPONT DE L'EURE, CARNOT, CRIMEUX, ALBERT, LE DRU ROLLIN, LOUIS BLANC,

And the other Members of the Provisional Government of the French Republic.

GENTLEMEN:

I DEDICATE this essay of mine to you, impressed as I am with the profoundest respect for your great efforts in the cause of bleeding, mangled, torn humanity. The noble position assumed by the great French nation, makes my heart beat with the most joyful emotions, while the fame of its leaders are as extended as civilization, and will be as lasting as eternity, and will be remembered when the names of emperors, kings, and despots, are forgotten.

Gentlemen, your Revolution of 1789, did not take place in vain; the heroic and patriotic blood shed by your oppressors, was not spilled for nothing.—The seeds then sown, are now beginning to ripen.

Gentlemen, upon your wisdom depends the fate of Europe; upon your shoulders rests the fate of civilized man, to the latest moment of recorded time. Already, by the Burgeosie press, in this country, are your prudence and capabilities questioned; already are you denominated enthusiasts and theorists; already does the sting of monopoly exhibit itself against your grand and perilous Revolution. Already

the base aristocracy of money, are at their infamous denunciations of you and your sublime endeavors to elevate the proletarians!

Gentlemen, this theory of mine, I had almost ready from the stereotyper, when the glorious news reached the United States, that you had placed yourselves at the head of the French people. I at once perceived how you intended to direct the Revolution: I foresaw that the base press and its baser employers, all over the world, would denounce you! I dreaded not your virtue, patriotism, or humanity; but I do dread this terrible power! However, be it your care, to strictly watch over your gigantic undertaking, and see that bad men, and bad measures, be kept from your councils! The world-wide reputations of all, and each of you, are dear to me—inexpressibly so; and if in the midst of such immense transactions, great in amount and greater in their consequences, you will have time to devote an hour to the perusal of this essay; if you will not glean any original ideas from it, you will, at all events, learn that the holy doctrines of which you are the national expounders, have thousands of advocates in the United States, who are exceedingly delighted at the success of your truly splendid Revolution!

Wishing you every success in the sacred cause, in which you are embarked, as well as a speedy and glorious termination to the struggles of the Reformers of Germany, the Chartists of Great Britain, the Repealers of Ireland, and the friends of human equality and fraternization, all over the globe, I subscribe myself your devoted admirer, and friend,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

Philadelphia, April 1848.

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EQUALITY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT—PRESENT CONDITION OF MAN—DIFFERENT DEGREES OF PROGRESSION.

WHEREVER I look upon man, I behold him in very different conditions; one class is educated, another is neglected; one man is extremely rich, another is in the greatest destitution. I am, therefore, induced to inquire into the causes of these great inequalities among men. I ask, is the present the natural condition of man? I ask, is mother Nature thus unjust? I cast my vision back into the past, and I know that, collectively, the race has progressed. I know that the producers in the United States possess more physical comforts than the producers of any country now do or ever did. But even here there is too much inequality not to institute a rigid inquiry into its causes. The present age is the commercial one of the world. The merchant princes of the day, rule in every country. The commercial power of Great Britain, maintains the supremacy of the privileged orders, and enslaves the masses at home and in her foreign possessions. The stock jobbers of the Bourse, at Paris, are the pillars upon which the throne of Louis Phillipe rests. The mercantile interests of America, are

forging chains for the limbs of her industrious citizens. The commercial gradually superseded the feudal system. The age of feudalism was the age of the sword. The most powerful chieftain kept his weaker neighbors in terror or subjection. Might was then the standard by which things were measured. The Barons selected one of their own order, and made him king. The productions of industry were then obtained by force instead of, as they are now, by cunning.

Thus far man could do no better, because he is born ignorant. The latter is an axiom. In travelling beyond the feudal I arrive at the patriarchal state, when men were nomads—beyond that period I am unable to penetrate. Man, in a natural state, possesses unlimited freedom, except where nature herself circumscribes the limits; he roams abroad; he gathers roots or fruits for his subsistence, or else he catches fish or wild animals, and converts their bodies into food, and their skins into clothing; he is exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, he builds a house to shelter himself. "Necessity, the mother of invention," still urges him onward; he is attacked by other men, or by wild beasts, and he unites with his kind; hence the origin of society either to resist aggression or to aggress. The question, therefore, to be solved is—"to find that form of association which shall protect and defend with the whole force of the community, the person and the property of each individual, and in which each person, by uniting himself with the rest, shall, nevertheless, be obedient only to himself, and remain fully at liberty as before."—*Rousseau.* Upon this will hinge the whole of my arguments.

I lay it down as an incontrovertible axiom, that

when men enter into the bonds of society, no member of the body politic can be endowed with any privilege, because the moment such shall be the fact, the social contract is broken, and each member is then absolved from the duties he engaged to fulfil. The first clause in the original agreement of the pact is this—"We, the contracting parties, do jointly and severally, submit our persons and abilities to the supreme direction of the general will of all, and in a collective body receive each member into that body, as an indivisible part of the whole."—*Rousseau.* It is, therefore, evident that man, in abandoning a state of nature for a state of civilization, his motives are to better his condition. Pleasure and pain are the two great principles which govern man in all his actions. He enters society under the impression that society will have no favorites; that there cannot be privileges for one man or for one class in particular, and the moment that he perceives any thing of the kind, he knows that the original contract is violated, and he is then at liberty to fall back upon his natural right, in preference to trusting to the Punic faith of civilization. In thus reverting to first principles, or to the elements of society, I have to discard every kind of prejudice, and to reason of man as I find him; for, as the poet says—"we can only reason but from what we know." "The error of those who reason by precedents drawn from antiquity respecting the rights of man, is that they do not go far enough into antiquity. They do not go the whole way: they stop at some of the intermediate stages of an hundred or a thousand years, and produce what was then done as a rule for the present day. This is no authority at all. If we travel still further into antiquity, we shall find a directly contrary opinion and practice prevailing, and

if antiquity is to be authority, a thousand such authorities may be produced contradicting each other; but if we proceed on, we shall gradually come out right; we shall come to the time when man came from the hand of his Maker. What was he then? man, man, was his high and only title, and a higher cannot be given him.

"We have now arrived at the origin of man, and at the origin of his rights. As to the manner in which the world has been governed, from that day to this, is no further concern of ours than to make a proper use of the errors or the improvements which the history of it presents. Those who lived one hundred or one thousand years ago, were the moderns, as we are now. They had their ancients, and those ancients had others, and we shall be ancients in our turn. If the mere name of antiquity is to govern in the affairs of life, the people who are to live one hundred or one thousand years hence, may as well take us for a precedent as we make a precedent of those who lived one hundred or one thousand years ago. The fact is, that portions of antiquity, by proving every thing, establish nothing! It is authority against authority, all the way, till we come to the Divine origin of man, and the rights of man at the creation. Here our inquiries find a resting place, and our reason finds a home. If a dispute about the rights of man had arisen at the distance of one hundred years from the creation, it is to this source of authority they must have referred, and it is to the same source of authority that we must refer."—*Paine*. It is, therefore, clear that no authority can be binding on man, when his rights are invaded, and that when this infringement takes place, he possesses the undoubted right to fall back upon the first of all laws, self-pre-

servation. Moreover, when society neglects or refuses to carry into operation its primary objects by not preserving to each of its members all his rights, it commits social suicide; for it hath been wisely observed, "that a wrong inflicted on a single individual, is an insult to the whole community." The Declaration of Independence expressly states that, "all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." When it is taken into consideration that it was a violation of the rights of man, which produced that sublime Declaration, I am justified in asserting that the least infringement of those rights is an actual dissolution of the social contract. I, therefore, consider that man originally entered society for his better conservation, and that he sacrificed his natural liberty conditionally, for the protection which society afforded him, but that whenever he sees privileges conferred upon a favored few, he will return to his natural rights, and reform a new state of society, his guides being knowledge and prudence.

The inference to be deduced from this chapter is, that each individual has the right to think as he chooses, to speak as he chooses, and to act as he chooses, upon the express understanding, that no person is injured by his conduct.

CHAPTER II.

ON GOVERNMENT.

An examination into governments, their nature and their functions, appears to be necessary before I pro-

ceed any further in this inquiry. There have been, and are various forms of government. The first I will mention, is the democratic or popular form—where every male adult possesses a voice in it. The second is the aristocratic, where the wealthy land owners rule the country. The third is the oligarchic, where the government is in the hands of a very few persons. The fourth is the monarchical, or autocratic, or despotic. Athens, in the days of her greatness, represents the first. Poland, before her partition, the second. Venice, under the Doge and Council of Ten, the third; and Russia, at the present day, the fourth. These various forms of government run into each other, and become more or less modified. Under the last three forms, the people are always kept in ignorance, because it is only by retaining the people in ignorance, that they can be kept enslaved. When men associated together at first, it is natural to suppose that the little State was democratic; but as the State enlarged its boundaries, or increased its population, the more crafty conspired together to subjugate the bulk of the citizens. This constitutes usurpation and tyranny.

It will now be seen, that if every member of society were honest and virtuous, there would be no need of government at all. Paine says, "Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively, the latter negatively; the one by uniting our affections, the other by restraining our vices; the one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last is a punisher. Society, in every state, is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is a necessary evil—in its worst state, an intolerable one." A wise people, therefore, who

cannot transact their affairs in their own persons, as the Athenians did, will confer no powers on the government conflicting with the original pact or covenant. Where government is transacted by delegation, the chances are much more favorable for bribery and corruption, and likewise for usurpation, than where all the affairs are managed at the primary assemblies. "Knowledge is power;" thus it has always happened wherever the people were ignorant, there have their rights been stolen away.

Government may be divided into two separate departments—the legislative and administrative. The legislative branch has simply to make laws in strict accordance with the constitution or original pact, and cannot, by any pretext whatever, act otherwise; the moment it does, it is guilty of the highest crime, to wit, *treason;* and then it should be attainted, and the punishment follow the offence as certain as the perpetration of the crime. The majority of wills, or ballots, form the government in a democracy, from generation to generation, but no further; the legislature cannot, from the very nature of the rights of man, make any laws, but in accordance with the general will, and cannot, therefore, make laws for generations not born! Paine thus speaks: "Every generation and age is and must, as a matter of right, be as free to act for itself, in all cases, as the age and generation that preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man, neither has one generation a property in the generations that are to follow." The administrative department has simply to see the laws impartially obeyed. In every instance, care should be taken to keep the legislative and administrative departments

strictly and rigidly separated, so as not to confound and confuse both; and every office ought to be elective, so as to keep all patronage in the hands of the rightful possessors. Each officer should be elected on the same day, at least annually, and the remuneration ought not to be more than that of fair remunerated productive labor, and no one officer of the government should receive a higher salary than another. But I will treat more of this in another place.

The only form of government that is conformable to the interests of all, is the *democratic;* because under it every citizen is consulted upon national affairs. I know that it has been urged by political writers, "that it is necessary to have a check upon this form, by an aristocracy;" but this is entirely erroneous—it is like taking a barrel of flour, and adulterating it with saw dust; and when, as is the fact now in Great Britain, a king is introduced, it is then necessary to add more saw dust, until, finally, no man can tell whether the barrel be filled with all saw dust or all flour. It appears that the legislative department in many countries, is composed of three separate and distinct branches: for instance, the king and two houses, as in France, and in England, and the President, the Senate and House of Representatives, as in this country. Why there should be two houses, I can find no reason. One is a drag chain on the other, causing all kind of delays in the transaction of national affairs, not to mention the enormous expense attending it; moreover, the President ought to be bound by the decisions of the Representatives, and have no veto, or pardoning power, or power of patronage vested in him. The people cannot be too cautious in delegating their own power to their servants. The thirst for power has done more to cause tyranny than

almost any thing else. There can be no sovereign but the people; therefore, a wise people will guard against every attempt of despotism and usurpation on the part of their delegates. The administrative portion of the government is composed of judges, magistrates, police, marine, and military forces, &c., and more strictly speaking, so is the President, seeing that even he cannot, of himself, make laws. It is unnecessary to continue this chapter further.

CHAPTER III.

ON LAWS.

If the original pact or covenant is to be maintained, laws cannot, under any contingency, be made to favor one man or one class of men. Legislation must always be for the good of all, and not for any favored class. The social contract forbids favoritism in legislation. Whenever laws are made so as to cause distinctions in society, there is an end of all justice. Any laws which encourage castes or classes, is a perversion of the primary agreement. Thus the systems of kingcraft, and of aristocracy, and of chartered monopolies, are wrong and mischievous. No law can or ought to be binding on any citizen, when running counter to the rights of man It is entirely swerving from the question, to say "that the majority must rule." This can only apply so long as the pact is not infringed upon. Why are laws made? Not certainly to guide the upright man, but to compel each citizen to act justly by and to his fellow citizen. Laws are enacted under the general will, stating certain pro-

positions, thus and so, and applicable equally and impartially to all, without respect of persons. It follows, then, as surely as night follows day, that under no possible plea can laws be made which will have a partial tendency, because the very enactment of such laws is "despotism, and ought to be resisted." "But this resistance," it may be said, "will lead to anarchy." Better it should, because "it is much better to have anarchy than despotism." By this I do not wish it to be inferred that I am in favor of anarchy; but *I do say that even anarchy is preferable to despotism and slavery*—in proof of which hear Godwin: "The nature of anarchy has never been sufficiently understood. It is, undoubtedly, a horrible calamity, but it is less horrible than despotism.—Where anarchy has slain its hundreds, despotism has sacrificed its millions upon millions, with this only effect, to perpetuate the ignorance, the vices, and the misery of mankind. Anarchy is a short lived mischief, while despotism is all but immortal. It is unquestionably a great evil, and a dreadful remedy for the people to yield to all their furious passions, till the spectacle of their effects gives strength to recovering reason; but though it be a dreadful remedy, it is a sure one. No idea can be more pregnant with absurdity than that of a whole people taking arms against each other till they are all exterminated. It is to despotism that anarchy is indebted for its sting! If despotism were not ever watchful for its prey, and mercilessly prepared, to take advantage of the errors of mankind, this ferment, like so many others, being left to itself, would subside into even, clear, and delightful calm. Reason is at all times progressive. Nothing can give permanence to error, that does not

convert it into an establishment, and arm it with powers to resist an invasion."

The past ignorance of man has enabled the few to rivet manacles on the limbs of the people. Law is generally the embodiment of the public mind, or general will. Wherever I perceive castes, as among the Hindoos; men deprived of their political rights, as in Prussia, or Italy; serfs, as in Russia; or slaves, as in the United States. I attribute such grades of society to the ignorance of the mass of the population. Laws to be obeyed, must be made to conform to natural rights. Hereditary aristocracy and kingcraft are opposed to these rights, hence the unceasing wars by the people against kings and aristocrats. Every law encouraging and sanctioning monopoly, such as banking, railway, canal, or other companies, is an attack upon the rights of man, because privileges are conferred on the few to the exclusion of the majority. Whenever the elements of nature are monopolised by individuals, that is, when certain individuals arrogate to themselves the right to aggrandize themselves, by seizing upon the soil or water of a country, they invade the rights of others, and if the laws approve of their conduct, society must resist such laws and repeal them. Laws can confer no rights; they may guard them. Law can and does confer privileges. Laws are partially enacted; they have hitherto been like cables to bind the workman, and like cobwebs to let the wealthy escape. I am safe in asserting, that thus far there have been no laws enacted, in any country, strictly impartial and equalitarian in all their tendencies. Laws cannot be enacted contrary to the constitution; if they be, anarchy ensues. Laws to be understood and obeyed, should be few and plain. All laws ought to emanate

from the people and the legislature's business is to place them in a proper form. When the legislature has shaped the bill into its proper form, it should return it to the people at the annual ballots, for them to decide upon its merits. Laws of various kinds become useless from time to time; to remedy the evil of retaining these useless laws, on the first year of each generation, all such laws as become a dead letter, should be submitted to the people, to have them abrogated as useless. Had the social contract never been outraged, there would only be a small quantity of law required. Nearly all the laws relating to property, are incorrect, which I will demonstrate in another place. Were all debts, debts of honor, a vast deal of litigation would be saved. Annul, or let expire, all chartered monopolies, and there will be much less law. Prevent man from holding property in his fellow man; prevent usury or interest for money; alter the law of libel; and above any thing and every thing, make the elements of nature, the air, the water, and the earth, the property of the human race; then, indeed, will all the vexations and losses attending law, lawyers, and law courts cease; then will chancellors, counsellors, judges, barristers, attorneys, solicitors, bailiffs, constables, with their whole train of satellites, vanish forever.

CHAPTER IV.

ON PARTIES.

THERE cannot be liberty where there are factions and parties, because each represents that it alone is

patriotic. The general will is formed by the aggregate of individual wills. But when there are several parties or factions contending for power, all the individual wills become merged into partisan wills, and it is no longer the country, or the rights of man which are regarded, but the party and its interests, be they right or wrong. Every political organization is an evil, is a despotism. One party may be better, be purer than another; what I mean is, that one party may be organized to counteract the pernicious influence of a tyrannic or aristocratic party.

I intend here briefly to review the positions of the two great parties which now divide the American people, as well as their offshoots, the abolition and native parties.

The cause of the Revolution in this country, was a violation of the rights of man, on the part of George the Third, and his advisers, by insisting that the Parliament of Great Britain had the right and power to tax the Colonies, without the consent of the colonists. After the Revolution had terminated, Washington was chosen President. On the expiration of his second term of office, the elder Adams was elected as his successor. He considered the *British Constitution* the "beau ideal of perfection." During his administration were passed laws which gagged the press, which made it sedition for the citizens to discuss their grievances, which prevented a foreigner from being naturalized until he had been nineteen years in the country. He and Hamilton, with others, were the chiefs of the then federal party, since altered to the name of Whig. This party then, and ever since, has consistently been the advocates of banks, of paper issues, of tariffs, of monopolies of every description, of privileged classes, and of aristocracy. I ask, where are

the records of this party in favor of equality? echo answers, where! The democratic party was organized by that magnate of nature, Thomas Jefferson. His powerful and truthful pen annihilated the doctrines of the federalists. During his terms of office "the alien, and sedition, and gagging laws" were repealed. He recognized the great truths of the equality of mankind. He may truly be said to be the Apostle of Democracy. He got his ideas from Paine, and Paine obtained his from the great fountain of political truth, the writings of the immortal Jean Jacques Rousseau. Andrew Jackson was a worthy successor of Jefferson; both agreed that the earth was the common property of man; both were faithful expounders of the creed of democracy. But has the party itself been true to its principles? has the party been consistent advocates and defenders of the rights of man? has it, where it has had the power, destroyed paper money in each State? has it made the land of the United States free to actual settlers? has it established free trade? has it abrogated usury? has it abolished slavery? has it prevented monopoly? I ask for proofs. If it has not done these things, and I contend that it has not, it is false to its own principles, and can no longer be styled the *Democracy*. The native party, the stillborn offspring of federalism, has been of the most cruel and intolerant character, and has recorded its brief history in letters of blood and fire. The abolition party go for the destruction of black slavery, but in their pseudo philanthropy, forget the white slave. I put the same questions regarding them as I did of the democrats, and I wish for a reply. But in addition to these, there are several other societies, among which may be mentioned "Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Druids, Foresters, Good Fellows," each of

which exercises an influence more or less upon the politics of the country. All of these associations are injurious, in the highest degree, to the "body politic," in more ways than one.

First, each of these takes men's attention from their best interests; second, they exercise an undue influence over men's opinions in political matters; third, they ape the aristocratic orders of the old world, by their profuse use of insignia, of ribbands, of decorations, and of titles; fourth, they are secret. There ought to be no political or secret associations in a State. The fact of there being such, proves that the people are unable to take care of themselves. "The people, one and indivisible," should be the only party. There is no necessity for go betweens between the elected and the electors; no juntas, or cliques, or cabals, or caucuses, will ever be permitted by a wise and free people. Every officer, State or National, should be elected on the same day, over the whole country. One term of office, all officers to be remunerated alike, and to be measured by the pay of productive labor.

What I have here said applies equally well to the secret temperance associations. This logic will appear startling to many upon a mere superficial view; but I am desirous that the people should look at our present system of electioneering, the immense sums of money expended, the valuable time and talents wasted, the rancor, the malevolence engendered by it. Let a different and a better system be substituted, and there will not then be an hundredth or a thousandth part of the ill feeling which there is now, to obtain and to retain office. The people being physically comfortable, and mentally educated, will select the wisest citizens to direct their affairs. Such a people

will possess liberty without licentiousness, equality of political rights without slavery, healthy labor without eternal drudgery, and last, but not least, the best of education untrammelled by unmeaning jargon. In such a state it is impossible to conceive how far mankind might progress in wisdom, in virtue, and in happiness.

CHAPTER V.

RIGHT OF OPINION.

WERE I to consult popular prejudices, a chapter of this nature would be entirely omitted; but as "truth is great and will prevail," I do not feel myself justified to shirk this question. I do not purpose to investigate the cause of religious ideas, nor to censure the religious opinions of any man. I hold that every person is endowed with religious notions, be they correct or the contrary. Every one supposes that his own religion is the right one, and as such is the fact, must it not be extremely foolish for men to persecute each other on account of mere matters of belief? Religion is an affair which rests entirely between man and the Creator, and it is the height of blasphemy for any one to arrogate to himself the right of dogmatically proclaiming that all religions are false but his own. Let each consider that to the best of his knowledge, he believes what is true at least to himself; but also to give credit to others for their sincerity. Any religion which teaches morality is good. A religion is positively an evil when it becomes an engine of the State; when this is the case, it persecutes other sects, who in their turn resist, and by this

system whole communities have been plunged in all the horrors of anarchy, and often despotism.

Jefferson has it, "That what matters it though my neighbor believes in one God or twenty gods, it neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg. Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual weapons against error. Give a loose to them, and they will support the true religion. Reason and experiment have been indulged in, and error has fled before them. It is error alone which needs the support of government. Differences of opinion are advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of *censor morum* over each other. Is uniformity attainable? What has been the effect of coercion? to make one half the world fools, and the other half, hypocrites; to support roguery and error all over the earth. Let us reflect that it is inhabited by a thousand millions of people; that these possess probably a thousand different systems of religion; that ours is but one of that thousand. But if there be but one right, and ours that one, we should wish to see the nine hundred and ninety-nine wandering sects gathered into the folds of truth. But against such a majority we cannot effect this by force. Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments. To make way for these, free inquiry must be indulged, and how can we ask others to indulge it while we refuse it ourselves."

There is a great deal said about toleration. Whenever any sect assumes to itself the power of tolerating other sects, it then violates the primary covenant; because, according to it, each sect, and each man, has as good a right to believe in his religious creed as any one else in his. Who can decide which is the right religion? certainly not erring man. Let each enjoy that opinion which he believes to be the best—not

upon the principles of toleration, but of right. Let persecution cease, and justice and charity take its place, as Pope says;

"For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right;
In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity."

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION.

Immense folios have been written upon education. Prosy volumes which no person could ever wade through, and yet I consider, that in a state where the rights of man are the props of the social edifice, nothing could be more natural than for each child to receive a sound, practical education. An education based upon equality of rights, might embrace the following subjects: reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography. Under a true democratic state of society, every member of the community is enabled to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life by moderate labor, and can, therefore, afford to keep his children at the national school. Each school has a complete set of workshops attached to it, with every kind of tools and machines. Children are taken into these workshops; one has a taste for engineering, another for manufactures, a third for architecture, and so of all the others; each selects that particular occupation most congenial to his wishes, and as the remuneration of all kinds of labor is equal, there cannot be any preference for a particular trade, because, if the hand loom weaver, or shoemaker, is paid as

well, and no better, than an engraver, or machinist, men will then have no objection to any particular occupation for their children. By adopting this method, each individual, male and female, would have one, two, or three trades learned before they now have one. Boys and girls at school, would then have an inducement to learn, by varying their hours of study. When they had been a couple of hours in the school room, take them for the space of an hour or two into the workshop—when tired there, let them have their time for amusement. It is necessary that a large green should be attached to each school, where the quoit and the cricket ball should be used; where running, wrestling, and other athletic exercises should be learned. I would also have them instructed in the use of the sword and the rifle, so that when they became men, they should be able to repel a foreign foe, or invader, and arrest and punish domestic traitors. A large garden should also belong to the school, to educate such as chose to become botanists, herbalists, horticulturists, or agriculturists; the greatest care to be taken to impart as great a knowledge of agricultural chemistry as possible. Libraries should be also a part of the schools, in which the best selected books would be placed for the use of the scholars. The whole system of education to consist of the most practical nature, to develope all the faculties of mankind, to draw forth the intellectual, the moral, and the physical powers of the individual. To educate men correctly, they must be taken when young; for

> Youth, like the softened wax, with care will take
> Those images that first impressions make;
> If those are fair, their actions will be bright,
> If not, they are clouded with the shades of night.—POPE.

They ought to be taught that chartered corpora-

tions are unjust; that the monopoly of the earth is contrary to human rights; that banks, that usury, that interest, that profit, that unequal wages, and exchanges, are contrary to the spirit of equality; that a conspiracy to introduce privileged orders into the State, is the greatest of all possible crimes; crimes which never can be atoned for—even the lives of the conspirators could be no atonement for so heinous an offence. Robbery, arson, and even murder, are venial sins in comparison to a conspiracy against the rights of man; because, at most, a few years will terminate the effects of the former, while the effects of the latter last for ages, causing oppression and misery without end. It is to guard against conspirators and traitors, domestic and foreign, that I would have the people martially instructed, because, as the old adage says, "The best way to command peace is to be prepared for war." I would also have a people taught to understand their own systems, that they might live upon wholesome regimen, and natural food; then the necessity for having very many medical men will be greatly lessened, and, as I have shown in the third chapter, the number of lawyers would be also greatly diminished. By so educating the people, thousands upon thousands of persons who now live upon the labor of others, would have to become producers themselves, and thus become a blessing to the whole community.

I would also have a gallery of paintings and sculpture; the fine arts should also be studied by all who choose, and then where there has been one Angelo, one Raphael, one Canova, one Arkwright, one Fulton, there would be one thousand, perhaps, ten thousand; but I wish to be most distinctly understood, that sooner than witness the triumphs of art, of science, of

steam, of mechanics, of chemistry, and of electricity, continually to take place for the few, during all future time, as has hitherto been the fact; I had rather see the human race retrograde to barbarism. I conclude the substance of this chapter, that education should consist in a knowledge of the most useful facts known, so as to enable the citizen to discharge his duties to himself and to society.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE.

I CAST my mind's eye over the earth, and what do I behold? I am carried to London, to Manchester, to Birmingham, to Glasgow, to Lyons, to Venice, to New York, and I witness the palace and the hovel, the aristocrat "clothed in purple and fine linen every day," and the beggar in tatters. Profligacy and debauchery in the saloons of the magnates of the earth, and squalor, and wretchedness, and starvation, in the homes of the poor. I look back into the history of the past: there is Venice, commercial Venice, during her thirteen hundred years of trading prosperity; she made slaves of her producers, and without even the formality of a trial, consigned to the silent lagoons of the Adriatic, those persons who had become obnoxious to her oligarchy. Spain opened her way to the Western World, and waged a war of extermination against the aborigines; the bloody and cruel acts of her Pizarros and Cortes, can attest the benign influence of commerce. England, civilizing England, commercial England, "whose flag has braved a thou-

sand years the battle and the breeze," next appears upon the stage. Surely the world proclaims aloud the impartial justice of this great trading maritime power. Portugal can bear testimony to her justice, the West Indian, and swart African, do attest her benevolence, the inhabitants of Hindostan's plains, chaunt Io peans to her honesty. The natives of the Celestial empire, bear in grateful remembrance, the kindness of their opium friends, and Ireland hugs with rapturous delight, the justice of England, which has not oppressed or degraded her children! The ignorance, the destitution, and the disfranchised condition of nine-tenths of her own population, are proofs of her selfishness.

I ask, how can a commercial people be a just people? it is absolutely impossible! The very nature of commerce is to engender deceit and fraud. The whole system is based upon the principle of buying cheap and selling dear. How can a nation act upright when each of its citizens is interested in falsehood? If cotton is damaged, is it not the aim of the seller to conceal it? Do not speculators run up the price of the necessaries of life to a famine standard? Is not a man's respectability measured by the length of his purse? Has not the mill owner an interest in every revolution of the engine which sets his machinery in motion? Does he not set a greater value upon this property of his than he does upon the human flesh that attends it. Do not the bankers expand and contract the currency, if it be proper to call rags currency, to amass large fortunes? Are not all the transactions of trade based upon these sordid motives? Are not the holiest feelings of "the human heart, the love of country and of kind," offered as a holocaust to this Moloch system? Where is the most virtue,

independence, and happiness to be found? Is it among an agricultural or a commercial people? Are not cities the putrid cesspools of a nation? Are they not the results of commercial enterprise? Is it not in them that I behold the extremes of wretchedness, of vice, and of crime? Are our people freer from the spirit of avarice than other commercial nations? Are the populations of Lowell, or of Manayunk, less at the mercy of the capitalists than those of Lyons, or of Manchester? Is a factory master kinder to his wages slaves in America than in Europe? Is trade conducted upon honester principles upon this continent than upon any other? It is the man's advice to his son, "to get rich honestly, but at all events to get rich."

It is now admitted upon all sides, that "labor is the source of all wealth," and that no individual can become wealthy, no matter how clever, unless from and by labor. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of December 8th, 1847, says, that to the value of three thousand millions of dollars worth of wealth, is annually produced in the United States. The population is now upwards of twenty millions of people, one half males and the other half females. Half of the males are able to work, leaving the other half to be superannuated, or under age. This calculation will afford five millions of able bodied men, capable of laboring; the number of females fit for productive labor, perhaps, may be recorded as two to five males, this will make seven millions of persons able to labor. But I am led to believe that two-sevenths of those able to labor, may be included among those classes who live upon labor, but who labor not; this will give five millions of persons at productive employment. These calculations demonstrate, that if there

be five millions of producers, and that three thousand millions of dollars worth of wealth is yearly produced, that each laborer produces six hundred dollars per annum, or about twelve dollars a week, in round numbers. I find that fortunes of from one hundred thousand dollars to thirty-five millions, have been made by several individuals. Can any man ever hoard up such immense sums and properties out of his honest industry? preposterous idea! It is sufficiently plain that the man who receives more than twelve dollars a week, must get it by other means than his own industry, and that those who receive less, are robbed of the residue, which finds its way into the coffers of the robbers, and that, as a natural consequence, the one party is cheated, while the other cheats. True it is, that hoary antiquity has sanctified the system of commerce, but that does not prove its justice. "Truth is the same to-day, yesterday, and forever."

> "Not all that heralds rake from coffined clay,
> Nor florid prose, nor honied words of rhyme
> Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime."

I am told "that charity and benevolence spring from the bosom of commerce, and that they distribute joy and happiness around." This is a mere superficial view. When the crafty and designing, by legal means, have taken from the producer most of what has been produced; when they have made every man's home miserable; when destitution and want stare the workman in the face; when actual starvation is all but driving the people to phrenzy, then to prevent justice from overtaking themselves—"for revenge is a wild kind of justice"—they part with a small portion of the wealth which they have plundered from the workman, and call it charity, lest

a maddened populace might compel them to disgorge the whole. They take the whole loaf, and then in their most superabundant charity, they give the crust to the rightful owners—out upon such charity! The demand has gone forth, that the cold charity which the oppressors of the people are anxious to bestow, is an insult, and that justice, sublime, eternal justice, must be substituted in its stead!

The ablest political writer of the present day in Great Britain, named James Bronterre O'Brien, thus draws a picture of commerce and commercial men: "Instead of rendering men the unflinching enemies of oppression, commerce has hitherto been the greatest destroyer of liberty, ever known to man. By whom were the natives of Africa torn from friends and home, and sold to bitter bondage all their days? by commercial men! By whom is the remorseless lash wielded over the bleeding slave's back in Britain's colonies, and even in republican America? by commercial men! By whom has Hindostan been plundered and enslaved for two hundred years? by commercial men! By whom were the simple aborigines of America, and the West Indies slaughtered like sheep, and hunted down with mastiffs, let loose against their naked limbs, three centuries ago? by commercial men! By whom are the liberties of the United States threatened with destruction, and her working citizens with European misery and bondage? by her commercial men! By whom are thirty millions of Frenchmen at present robbed of their civil rights, and made the hopeless prey of mammon and arbitrary power? by an armed shopocracy of commercial men! By whom is England, the most laborious nation of all times, ancient or modern, by whom is this magnificent country now enslaved and pauperized? by her commercial men!

Away, away, then, with the revolting cant which would unite liberty and commerce in the same breath! Heaven and hell are not more diametrically opposed to each other than is commerce to heaven-born liberty!"

It would be miraculous, indeed, to expect aught else than selfishness from the present commercial system, where each man is engaged in the same deadly race against his fellow, where the struggle is not to emulate each other in noble and philanthropic actions, but only to amass riches. I close this chapter by a quotation from Shelley.

Commerce, beneath whose poison-breathing shade,
No solitary virtue dares to spring;
But poverty and wealth, with equal hand,
Scatter their withering curses, and unfold
The doors of premature and violent death
To pining famine and full-fed disease,
To all that share the lot of human life
Which poisoned body and soul scarce drags the chain
That lengthens as it goes, and drags behind.
Commerce has set the mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enslaving power
Upon a shining ore, and called it gold;
Before whose image bow the vulgar great,
The vainly rich, the mercenary proud,
The mob of peasants, nobles, priests, and kings,
And with blind feelings, reverence the power
Which grinds them to the dust in misery;
For, in the temple of their hireling hearts,
Gold is a living god, and rules in scorn
All earthly things but virtue.

CHAPTER VIII.

TARIFFS.

So much has been said and written upon tariffs,

that one might suppose that every citizen understood them in all their bearings. Is such the fact? How few, how very few are cognizant of the nature of tariffs. How few can tell the differences between protective tariffs, revenue tariffs, and incidental tariffs; between fixed duties and *ad valorem* duties, and a host of other high sounding epithets? The whole of this jargon is only another of the schemes of the people's oppressors to hoodwink and to delude them. The whole matter resolves itself into this, that monopoly must triumph. Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Tompkins, are two storekeepers. Mr. Hopkins gets a law passed, "that all the neighborhood shall buy at his store," although his goods are the dearer. And, furthermore, he persuades his neighbors, that "they will be ruined if they buy of the other storekeeper." But some refractory fellow says, "I will buy of Tompkins, because it is the cheaper firm." "Nonsense, nonsense," says Hopkins, for Hopkins is a politician, "my dear sir, really you cannot understand your own interest, as well as I do, because I have been educated in the Clay and Webster school—I have been to college—I have conned over Adam Smith, and Ricardo, and Malthus, and I do assure you, that unless you purchase your goods as I suggest, and adopt the eternal principles of protective monopoly, you yourself will be ruined forever, and the whole neighborhood beggared." Divest the arguments of the protectionists of their hypocrisy, and it amounts to the substance of the above. Yet thus it is that the proletarians allow themselves to be bamboozled. What is the difference between the two kinds of protectionists? exactly the difference between the crocodile and the alligator—that is, no difference whatever, and well the tariff advocates know it. I am told that

free trade cannot be established with safety; certainly not with safety to the office holder, and place seeker.

I proceed, first, to show what a protective tariff means. I now ask, what does it mean? Does it mean to protect the producer from the innumerable wrongs inflicted upon them by their merciless task masters? Does it mean that the producers of all wealth shall be protected in its enjoyment? Does it mean that low wages, and poverty, and crime shall be known no more? Does it mean any of these things? most assuredly not. Then, what does it mean! It means that a small minority of privileged individuals shall be legally protected in robbing and plundering the great bulk of the people. It means that the whole community shall be taxed to enable those few to wallow in luxury and debauchery. Have the manufacturers who have reaped all its benefits, ever dreamed of conferring even a tithe of them upon their operatives? Have they raised wages when the rates of duties were high? no, no—but quite the contrary. Even when the rates of duties were high, they kept wages as low as possible. I know this by experience. But even if the employers had acted honestly, which they never yet have done, high duties could not last long, because the high wages for factory operatives in this country would inevitably attract greater numbers from the pauper-paid laborers of Europe; hence, by the labor market being overstocked, the unfortunate artisan is forced to beg employment from his lordly fellow worm! The competition to obtain a living becomes severer every day; workmen underbid each other, and, finally, wages are reduced to the merest pittance. This position cannot be refuted; the history of the world proves it. Moreover, is it not the object and intention of the protectionists to create a

great manufacturing population in this country? Do they not desire to witness Lowell surpassing Manchester, Manayunk, Lyons, and New York, London, in splendor, in riches, in luxury, in destitution, in profligacy, and in crime! It is said that these things are not the effects of tariffs. Who will dare deny facts. Has not England, and does she not still maintain the doctrine of protection? What is the condition of her people? on the verge of rebellion—trodden to the very dust of misery! In London alone, there are eighty thousand prostitutes! Monopolies of every description carefully protected by law; foreign articles of manufacture excluded by the most rigid statutes, and yet starvation is the fate of countless thousands of England's producing classes.

In the teeth of these astounding facts, the protectionists are so lost to honesty and shame as to endeavor to introduce and perpetuate a similar system in our own country. Have not protective tariffs begot factories? and are not the hands employed in these earthly pandemoniums, the vassals, the hired vassals of the factory lord? Must not his *ipse dixit* rule? Who dare gainsay his tyrannical mandate? Is it to support an enslaving and liberty-killing system like this, that the freemen of the republic are solicited to sanction it by their votes? Is a revenue tariff honester than the protective? facts must give an answer. I have invariably to revert to the rights of man to illustrate my position. A tariff for revenue is a monstrous imposition. Why is it so? because it maintains a whole army of office holders in idleness; because the tax imposed is unequal, and therefore, unjust; because the workman who earns five dollars, is taxed as much as the man who has one hundred thousand dollars per annum; because it is anti-demo-

cratic, anti-republican in its tendency; because the people by this *hocus pocus* method of paying the taxes, can never witness the frauds that are imposed upon them; because the taxes are three times more than they would be by direct taxation; because the government is always extravagant under the operations of indirect taxation; because direct taxation is the only just and republican system. For all these reasons, a tariff for revenue is essentially detrimental to free institutions. Moreover, the *incidental* tariff party has not been consistent, because in the South, Southwest, and West, it has advocated free trade, while in the North, East, and Middle States, it has supported tariff doctrines. Every person taken from the ranks of labor must, as a matter of course, live upon labor, therefore, all the custom house officers who are kept to collect a revenue for government, are so many drones in the hive of labor.

It is often asserted that the foreigner pays the duty —this is not true. Does the foreigner send his produce to us for nothing? if he does, then does he pay the duty; but as the people here have to pay for all they receive, every cent laid on in duty, above the value of the article, has to be paid for by the American laborer. The amount of revenue paid into the coffers of the government, is about one-third of the gross imports. In the year eighteen hundred and forty-five, there were twenty-seven millions of dollars of revenue collected; this makes the nett sum of eighty-one millions of dollars to have been paid by the producers of this country, or that each of the five millions of producers paid upwards of sixteen dollars each in indirect taxation; because, as I before stated, the laborers have to pay all. It is all nonsense to suppose that the capitalist pays any of it, inasmuch

as he has not the means until first he takes it from the laborer. It is our proud boast, that the government of the United States is the cheapest in the world; but it ought to be much cheaper than it is. It would be so, had we direct taxation; for then, as each man had to pay directly, he would be more watchful as to how the taxes were expended. I know that a hue and cry will be raised against the doctrines here inculcated; but by whom?—by those who receive extremely high salaries under the present nefarious system. Be it so: truth is a mighty power, and it must ultimately triumph in the good time coming. Therefore, free trade, based upon equal exchanges, value for value, must finally become the law of all honest communities, despite the efforts of the wolves and the vultures to the contrary.

CHAPTER IX.

BANKING.

In pursuing this inquiry, I have been led, step by step, in the investigation of one wrong after another, until I have arrived at the question of banking, or usury. All interest upon money is usury. I grant that unjust legislation has legalized it. The system of banking is so extremely complicated and mystified, that few people can understand it. I intend to simplify it. The cabalistic words, bears, bulls, consols, scrip, debentures, stocks, omnium funds, relief notes, exchequer bills, stripped of their mysterious significations, simply amount to swindlers and swindling!

The first thing to be explained, is the method taken to start a bank.

Whenever a number of individuals intend to commence a banking company, say ten in number. They have already obtained the charter, either with or without the individual liability. The individual liability is a farce! The capital upon which the bank is supposed to be based, is two hundred thousand dollars; the shareholders are expected to pay in their shares either in specie or in bankable notes; they have neither the one nor the other; they assemble together, and each pays in five hundred dollars, instead of twenty thousand; this sum suffices to rent a building for the future establishment, to furnish it with counters, chairs, books, et cetera, and to have their plates engraved. The next thing done is to strike off as many notes as can be got into immediate circulation. Now the bank is established. The next instalment becomes due; they go to one counter and borrow their own notes—*for money I will not call it*—and then they turn to the other, and pay it in. They have never paid in more than one-fortieth of their agreement. This is the secret of making banks. Do they limit the issues to the legal amount? certainly not; in many instances, they issue five times more than the law allows. The amount of notes of the bank, instead of remaining at two hundred thousand, are increased to a million or upwards. A million of dollars at six per cent. amounts to sixty thousand dollars per annum, thus giving six thousand dollars nett profit yearly to each of the shareholders, and all this for an instalment of five hundred dollars. This is the least part of the wrong, by these over issues. Paper is extremely plenty; the speculators, many of them bankers themselves, borrow largely, go into the

market, forestal it, raise the price of all kinds of produce to an unnatural standard, cause the barrel of flour to sell at ten dollars instead of five, thus carrying want into the homes of the work people. Merchants borrow largely from the banks, the competition for the purchase of goods is predominant, immense fortunes are made in a short time. The merchant accommodates the wholesale dealers, who, in their turn, give credit to the retail shopkeeper, and to use a common expression, "times never were better." Here I will pause to ask a question or two: if the merchant makes his half million, of whom does he get it? of the producer — he cannot get it from any other quarter. At first it may appear that he gets it in the profits he makes of the wholesale buyer; but the latter can only pay him by the profits he makes of the retailer, and he must make his profits of the producers; thus it is that all rests upon labor.

It is objected, that the producer does not pay for all, seeing that he is not the only purchaser admitted; the lawyer, the judge, the doctor, the clergyman, the *landlord*, consume as well as the laborer, and therefore, they must purchase; but where do they get the means of purchasing from? only from the laborer! This is evident. But "a change comes o'er the spirit of the dream." The reckoning day is at hand! The bankers have now got their notes into extensive circulation. The merchant who has borrowed twenty thousand dollars from the bank, is informed that the time for payment has arrived. Security has been given for him on real estate; he is unable to pay at the appointed time, his securities are prosecuted, he and they become bankrupt; alarm is the order of the day; crash, crash, crash, in the commercial world! The property of these men is brought to the hammer,

and generally sold at one half or one third its value. The bankers taking precious care that the property shall be theirs. This is stagnation in trade.

There is another way by which these cannibals cheat the people. They purchase up as much real estate as possible with their own notes; they consign it over to their wives or children, then the bank is closed—it is broken! Behold the effects upon industry. Here is a hard working man who has toiled for years to accumulate "something for a rainy day;" he has a few hundred dollars in notes of the rotten institution, his all is destroyed; he is not a philosopher, he flies to "revenge, which is a wild kind of justice," and on the first opportunity, he murders some of the miscreants who have robbed him, and then, forsooth, he is handed over to the tender mercies of the executioner, another victim to the Moloch power of capital.

Cobbett has well defined the nature of banking, in the following quotation: "Alas! the funds are no place at all! and, indeed, how should they be, seeing that they are, in fact, one and the same thing with the National (or State) debt? But to remove from the mind of every creature all doubt upon this point, to dissipate the mists in which we have so long been wandering, to the infinite amusement of those who invented these terms, let us take a plain, common sense view of one of these loaning transactions. Let us suppose that the government wants a loan, that is, wants to borrow money to the amount of a million of pounds sterling. It gives out its wishes to this effect, and after the usual ceremony upon such occasions, the loan is made, that is, the money is lent by Messrs. Muckworm and Company. We shall see bye and bye, when we come to talk more fully upon the sub-

ject of loans, what sort of a way it is in which Muckworm pays in the money so lent, and in what sort of money it is that he pays. But for the sake of simplicity in our illustration, we will suppose him to pay in real, good money, and to pay the whole million himself, at once. Well, what does Muckworm get in return? Why his name is written in a book, against his name is written that he is entitled to receive interest for a million of money; and thus it is that Muckworm puts a million of money into the funds! Well, but you will say, what becomes of the money? why the government expends it to be sure; what should become of it? Very few people borrow money for the purpose of locking it up in their drawers or chests. What! then the money all vanishes, and nothing remains in lieu of it, but the lender's name, written in a book. Even so, my good neighbor, and this is the way that money is put into the funds. But the most interesting part of the transaction remains to be described. Muckworm, who is as wise as he is rich, takes special care not to be a fundholder himself; and, as is always the case, he loses no time in selling his stock, that is to say, his right to receive the interest of the million of pounds. These funds, or stocks, as we have seen, have no bodily existence either in the shape of money, or of bonds, or of certificates, or of any thing else that can be seen or touched. They have a being merely in name. They mean, in fact, a right to receive interest, and a man who is said to possess, or to have a thousand pounds worth of stock, possesses, in reality, nothing but the right of receiving the interest of a thousand pounds. When, therefore, Muckworm sells his million's worth of stock, he sells the right of receiving the interest upon the million of pounds which he has lent

to government. But the way in which sales of this sort are effected, is by parcelling the stock out to little purchasers, every one of whom buys as much as he likes; he has his name written in the book for so much, instead of the name of Muckworm and Company, and when Muckworm has sold the whole, his name is crossed out, and the names of the persons to whom he has sold, remain in the book. And here it is that the thing comes home to our very bosoms, for our neighbor, farmer Greenhorn, who has all his life been working like a horse, in order to secure his children from the perils of poverty, having first bequeathed his farm to his son, sells the rest of his property, amounting to a couple of thousand pounds, and with the real good money, the fruit of his incessant toil and care, purchases two thousand pounds of Muckworm's funds, or stocks, and leaves the said purchase to his daughter. And why does he do this? The reason is, that he believes his daughter will always receive the interest of the two thousand pounds without any of the risk or trouble belonging to the rents of houses or land. Thus, neighbor Greenhorn is said to have put two thousand pounds in the funds, and thus his daughter, poor girl, is said to have her money in the funds. When the plain fact is, that Muckworm's money has been spent by the government; that Muckworm has now the two thousand pounds of poor Grizzle Greenhorn, and that she, in return, has her name written in a book in the Bank Company's house, in consequence of which she is entitled to receive the interest of two thousand pounds, which brings us back to the point whence we started, and explains the whole art and mystery of making loans, and funds, and stocks, and national debts?"

I am justified in opposing the present iniquitous

banking system, because of the monopolies it gives rise to; but I am indifferent as to what kind of money shall be used, provided it will represent labor fairly and honestly. It is impossible for the reformer to remain quiet, and

> "To see the ghost of gold
> Take from toil a thousand fold
> More than its substance could,
> In the tyrannies of old."

It is more than I can bear. I demand to see labor elevated to its proper position. More than this I do not require—with less I will never be satisfied.

CHAPTER X.

MACHINERY.

Machinery is an element which has done much towards revolutionizing the habits of society during the last century; an inquiry into its effects cannot be deemed out of place here. There are those who contend that machinery is one of the greatest blessings ever conferred upon the human race, and there are others who maintain the converse of this. I pause to inquire.—A machine is a complication of tools. A spinning mule, a power loom, or a steam engine, are machines. A knife, a spade, a trowel, are tools; but to avoid confusion, I will class all under the term *machinery*. Whenever a new labor-saving machine is brought into operation, if it is intended for the benefit of the laborer, then it is a good, but if it is intended that the machine shall work against the laborer, instead of for him, then it is an evil!

On society emerging from a state of nature, the implements of husbandry must have been rude and disadvantageous compared to what they are now. Wooden spades, probably, were then used; but as man progressed, his knowledge of iron enabled him to substitute an iron one for the wood. Now this improvement must have been a blessing to all, until a few made a monopoly of the earth, in which was placed the ore from which the instruments were formed; then the law became partial and unjust. When man had again progressed, ploughs were invented: a further blessing, only liable to the same objections as the spades, because the monopolists say to the men who require spades and ploughs, "we will permit you to produce wealth with the spades and ploughs, on condition that you will give us two-thirds of your produce;" and in such a condition are the producers placed, that they are forced to submit to the proposed terms. It is clear that the improvements in machinery have not been of equal benefit to all. I perceive around me the most wonderful improvements in chemistry, in machinery, in steam, and in electricity; I also behold large masses of human beings completely in the power and at the mercy of the possessors of these elements. I ask the reason? and I find the following to be the only answer: because man being born ignorant, those having the greatest amount of knowledge, combined together and monopolized the soil; a monopoly of the earth led to a monopoly of its productions, and, consequently, to a monopoly of money; a monopoly of money has led to a monopoly of education; a monopoly of education to a monopoly of the government, and learned professions, and thus established two separate, distinct, and antagonistic classes of men,

viz: an educated, oppressive class, on that side, and an ignorant, oppressed class, on this. But it is certainly my duty to place this question in the clearest possible manner before the people.

Mr. Griphard has five hundred hands in his employ; there is full work for all. Each mechanic receives eight dollars per week wages? Labor-saving machinery is introduced, which supplants the labor of one hundred men, or in other words, as much work is now performed in four hours as before in five! Now, what does Griphard do? Does he reduce the labor of his wages slaves from ten to eight hours? or does he discharge one hundred men? He does the latter. What is to become of the unfortunate hundred men? "They can find employment at other occupations," says Mr. M'Cant Hypocrisy. As Sterne said, "of all the cant in this canting world, the cant of hypocrisy is the most disgusting!" How can they find work at other trades, when in consequence of the improved machinery introduced into each, each is glutted with a redundancy of laborers. I again ask, what are the unwilling idlers to do? They have several choices.—Firstly, they may beg, but they are too honorable to do that; secondly, they may rob, but they are too honest to do that; thirdly, they can walk about the streets until they themselves are in rags, their wives and children all but perishing of hunger; fourthly, and lastly, there is one more resource remaining, and that is, to go to the employer, and offer to work for whatever remuneration he may think proper to give! Hitherto they have been receiving eight dollars per week each, but now the slaveholder says that they must work for seven; they are forced to submit; next for six; again for five; and so on until they only receive the merest

pittance for their labor. It is objected, "that even this state of things is to be preferred to a state of nature, and that men are much better off now than they were formerly." This position is based upon error, because man is made more miserable by contrast. In a state of nature all are equal, no one man has greater privileges than another; if one man is clothed in skins, or has a wooden hut to shelter him, or has leaves for a bed, and a log of wood for a pillow, he is the more content, because he knows that every other man is similarly situated. Is it so at the present time? No—nature and the rights of man are no longer acknowledged. The producer witnesses, that although he labors, he enjoys not the fruits of his own industry, therefore, it is that he is miserable. I do not wish it to be understood that I advocate a return to a state of nature; but I do contend, that all our institutions should be based upon natural law. Nor must it be inferred that I am opposed to machinery in itself—no, quite the contrary. I anxiously desire to see improvements take place in the construction of machines which will all but do away with manual labor in toto; but then, I contend, that these inventions and discoveries ought to be for the advantage of all, instead of for the few. I wish to draw the attention of the people to the monstrous injustice, as to the deep planned system concocted to keep the surplus number of laborers under the control of the employers. The land is held by the monopolists for the sole purpose of preventing the labor market being thinned. But I will treat of this in its proper place.

CHAPTER XI.

TRADES UNIONS.

THE avarice of the capitalist has compelled the producers to associate to resist his unjust encroachments. I witness this state of things in all parts of Europe, and even in this republican country. The laborer is crushed to the earth in every quarter of the globe. Surely an examination of the cause of this is extremely important to my present purpose. I am, therefore, driven again to first principles.

From what has been stated in the last chapter, it is evident that improved labor-saving machinery gives full scope to the employer's rapacity to reduce wages; but there is another and a deadlier cause hidden immediately behind this: that cause is the monopoly of the earth; at first monopolized by force, and continued since by chicane, fraud, and violence. When the first violation of the rights of man took place, it laid the foundation of every species of villainy, from that time to the present. It has ended in making the bulk of mankind mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. In addition to this, it has rendered man ignorant of his rights, and almost afraid to reason; it has made him cower and quail before his own free thoughts; it has made slaves, and cowards, and hypocrites of men.

> Yet let us ponder boldly, 'tis a base
> Abandonment of reason to resign
> Our right of thought! This last and only place
> Of refuge; this, at least, shall still be mine.
> Though from our birth the faculty divine
> Is chained and tortured, cabin'd, cribb'd, confined,

> And bred in darkness, lest the truth should shine
> Too brightly on the unprepared mind,
> The beams pour in, for time and skill will couch the blind.

It has made them hate and distrust each other; it has been the cause of all the wars and butcheries which have ever been waged! O, could I depict the history of the past ages of man; had I the mental power to exhibit the woe and want, the misery, the silent sufferings of the countless myriads of millions of men, who have descended, broken hearted, to the cold chambers of death, by the wrongs inflicted upon them by human pirates!

I have already stated that the base transactions of the capitalist compelled the operatives to associate to resist his encroachments, and to prevent him from entirely cheating them. As from time to time, improved labor-saving machinery was introduced into the various manufacturing departments, the number of surplus laborers thrown idle became greater, and in a proportionate ratio the competition by them to obtain a subsistence. The employers seized hold of the auspicious moment to reduce wages. This, as a natural consequence, caused the work people to combine to maintain wages above the point of starvation. Thus were formed associated bodies, under the name of trades unions. The best known plans were adopted by them to prevent a further reduction of wages. In some instances, partial success attended their efforts. Alas! they oftener failed than they succeeded. Any person conversant with the history of strikes and trades associations, will admit this fact. Look at the condition of the operatives of Great Britain. Have they not "many a time and oft," struck against reductions? but all in vain. They resisted to the best of their knowledge; but each subsequent

struggle left them more powerless than before. Why was this? simply because they did not understand their true interests.

If the soil of Great Britain belonged to the people, no employer could cheat them, because the moment that wages fell too low, that moment the workman could fall back upon his rights, and go, and occupy his quota of the land. There is the mainstay of the producers, and no legal swindler can defraud them of a solitary penny Moreover, as the law of equal exchanges would be in operation, the necessity for abstractors of wealth, in the shape of employers, would be done away with. The error which trades unions and other associated bodies have committed, is that they have been afraid to revert to first principles, lest politics should be introduced among them; as if legislation did not affect directly the whole market of labor. Cannot the trades see that all the productions of labor are protected by law. If a tailor makes a coat, a hatter a hat, a cordwainer a pair of boots, all these articles are strictly guarded by law; but labor is left entirely unprotected. Let the trades remember this.

Strikes, while they have done but little in arresting the onward march of the Juggernaut car of capital, yet under the circumstances, I justify them, because they acted according to the best of their judgments. Were it possible to furnish statistics of the millions upon millions of dollars expended upon turns-out, it would fill the mind with astonishment. The hand loom weavers alone, have lost fifty thousand dollars during the last five years, in Philadelphia. Had all the money and talent which have been expended in strikes, been devoted to the establishment of the rights of man, and to the emancipation of labor, there

would be neither employers nor employees at the present time. It is truly lamentable to hear trades unionists talk of merely standing up for wages! Why not go to the source of the evil? This matter I will explain more fully in a future chapter. Taking all things into consideration, the working classes could not have acted otherwise than they have. When I know that the landlords and usurers are interested in keeping them in ignorance, in the most Cimmerian darkness; when I know that they send their emissaries among the producers, to distract and to divide them, theirs being the old maxim, "divide and conquer;" when I know that they care not how often the journeymen strike for wages only, instead of going to the root of the evil; when I know that they have the law at their back, to support them in their aggressions upon labor; when I know that they have employed physical force, and shot, and hanged, and fined, and imprisoned working men for asking for "a fair day's labor, for a fair day's work." However, "the fiat has gone forth:" "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin," is upon the wall, "the blood-cemented thrones of landlordism and usury" are tottering, and a brighter and a better day is dawing over the degraded and down-trodden poletarian.

CHAPTER XII.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Political economists have given different names to different kinds of capital, "*exempli gratia*," "real estate, fixed capital, floating capital;" this all amounts

to the same thing, which is, that "labor is the source of all wealth." The economists have mystified this important question under a cart load of technical terms, and designedly, too, to prevent the workman from inquiring into the causes of his own degradation. Why have they done so? the answer is easy to solve: because they wrote for and were paid by the capitalist. Capital, or wealth, or property, is the accumulated savings of labor. I here quote from "Bray's Labor's Wrongs and Labor's Remedies:"

"The poverty and misery of the masses of all nations have for ages been notorious. It was easy to make the oppressed believe, ere mind had touched them with its glittering spark, that their condition in society, as the slaves and inferiors of their fellow men, was a necessary consequence of their existence, and therefore, unavoidable and irremediable. But as time progressed, knowledge spread, and the sons of labor began not only to disbelieve the story of their inferiority, but likewise to attempt to throw off the yoke of the merciless enemy, which had so long held them in thraldom. The frequent and vigorous efforts which have been made for this purpose, during the last half century, have not been unheeded by the opposite party; and they have discovered the necessity of supporting their pretensions to supremacy and wealth, by stronger proofs than mere assertion. To this end have certain individuals examined the groundwork and tendency of the existing system, and their labors have ended in the erection of what is called the science of Political Economy. The founders of this science have gone to first principles; they have reasoned from indisputable facts, and they have proved clearly and convincingly, that under the present system there is no hope for the working man,

that he is indeed the bondman of the man of money! But let not the unjust man and the extortioner, wherever he may be, exult in the immensity of his wealth and the unconquerableness of his power. Let not a toil-worn and impoverished people, wherever they may be think that their doom is fixed, and that deliverance will never come. That which is true of particular principles, under certain influences, is not necessarily true of the same principles, under all circumstances; nor is that poverty and degradation which is the portion of the working man, under the present social system, a necessary concomitant of his existence, under any and every social system. This shall be proved by the same principle, and the same mode of argument by which the political economists, from not going far enough, have proved the contrary. By thus fighting them upon their own ground, and with their own weapons, we shall avoid that senseless clatter respecting 'visionaries' and 'theorists,' with which they are so ready to assail all who dare move one step from that beaten track, which, 'by authority,' has been pronounced to be the only right one. Before the conclusions arrived at by such a course of proceeding can be overthrown, the economists must unsay, or disprove those established truths or principles on which their own arguments are founded. 'Society,' it has been affirmed by a political economist, 'both in its rudest form, and in its most refined and complicated relations, is nothing but a sytem of exchanges. An exchange is a transaction in which both the parties who make the exchange, are benefited, and consequently, society is a state presenting an uninterrupted succession of advantages for all its members.' It has been to make society what it is here represented to be 'an uninter-

rupted succession of advantages for ALL its members,' that the efforts of the truly great and good in all ages have been directed. Society *is not* thus universally advantageous to all within its pale, nor has it ever yet been so! Ask the producers of wealth, the despised, the toil-worn, the oppressed working men, of any age or nation, if society was ever for them an 'uninterrupted succession of advantages.' Could their voices arise from the grave, could they tell us the sickening tale of their wrongs and their miseries, how wild would be their wailings, how terrible their imprecations! But even were history silent as to their fate, experience is a perpetual remembrancer to the men of the present day, and they cannot change their situation for a better one, nor will they ever have a proper hold upon society, until first principles are universally acted upon; until we attend to those conditions which the political economists themselves have confessed to be 'necessary for the production of utility, or of what is essential to the support, comfort, and pleasures of human life.'" And these conditions are,

"'*First.* That there shall be labor.

"'*Second.* That there shall be accumulations of former labor, or capital.

"'*Third.* That there shall be exchanges.'

"These three conditions, be it remembered, are those laid down by the economists. There is no reservation made, no distinction of any particular persons, or classes, with respect to whom these conditions shall or shall not have reference. They are applied to society at large, and from their nature, cannot exempt any individual, or any class, from their operation. We must, therefore, take the conditions as they are, and apply them with their advan-

tages and disadvantages to all alike. Had these conditions been fulfilled by men as they ought to have been, there would now be no occasion for forming associations, or trades unions, to protect the employed from the merciless exactions of the employers. But these conditions have been neglected, or only partially observed, and the present condition of the working man, and society at large, is the consequence. From our habits and prejudices it is difficult to discover truth, or first principles; but it is still more difficult to apply these principles properly, or even to conceive that they may be acted upon. First principles are always general in their application, not partial. The law, 'THOU SHALT LABOR,' rests alike on all created beings. To this great law, from the minutest animalculæ, in a drop of water, to the most stupendous whale which dives beneath the waves of ocean, there are naturally, and there should be artificially, no exception! Man only can escape this law, and from its nature, it can be evaded by one man only at the expense of another. The law itself can never be destroyed or abrogated; it naturally and perpetually presses equally upon all men; upon the capitalist as well as the working man, and if one man, or class of men, escape its pressure, the sum total of its force will bear upon some other man, or class. It is an absolute condition of existence, 'that there shall be labor.' The word '*labor*,' with most men has unpleasant ideas associated with it. To many it signifies raggedness, or ignorance, or degradation, aching bones, mental and bodily lassitude, a gnawing dissatisfaction with every thing around them, and a half weariness of life. To destroy the inexplicable feelings which excessive labor thus creates, the overwrought working man wants, and he must have

some mental or bodily restorative, to supply this waste of vital energy. But the present institutions of society offer him nothing of the kind. There is nothing around him to raise up his prostrated soul, and enlarge, and purify the noble germ within him; for every thing he hears, and sees, and feels, tends to enforce upon him a sense of inferiority and abasement. No wonder that his manhood droops and withers; that he seeks for the momentary relaxation afforded by debauchery; that he soon loses even the desire to improve his very few hours of leisure, and becomes content to plod through life, not as a man, but as an animal, eating, drinking, and working, to the end of his days! The almighty principle of mind, if unused and unimproved, sickens, and degenerates, and dies! Labor, like every thing else, is good when used legitimately; but becomes prejudicial when abused. It has hitherto been regarded as a curse, and it has, to many, been an actual curse, only because men have not used it rightly. The great mass of mankind has labored to excess, and like every other excess, labor has excited little else than aversion and loathing! Labor ought to raise none of these unpleasant emotions, nor would it do so, if taken in moderation. If we understood things rightly, we should consider labor a blessing rather than a curse; for it is the one great preservative of intellectual and corporeal health. But with strange inattention to the nature and uses of things, the world at large stamps labor, which is the parent of every enjoyment, as not only unpleasant, but derogatory. The working man must not sit with the idler, or the capitalist, nor must he eat with them, or associate with them. The pot house and the hovel are allotted to the one, the ball room and the palace are usurped

by the other. To have ever honestly earned a shilling, is, under the present system, and by those who have perched themselves upon the pinnacles of that system, considered almost as a moral stain upon a man! All labor must come from some parties, and the advocate for justice, and for equal rights, cannot but exclaim, 'Let those only cry out against working, who can live without eating and drinking, for none but such were intended to be idle!' Labor is neither more nor less than labor, and one kind of employment is not more honorable or dishonorable, than another, although all descriptions of labor may not appear of equal value to society at large. Such inequality of value apparently, is no argument for inequality of rewards; and when we have examined the subject in all its bearings and relations, we shall find that it is just and reasonable that labor should be universal.

"All kinds of labor are so mixed up together, and so dependent on each other, that the institution of inequality of reward, involves more actual pecuniary injustice than can possibly have existence under a system which rewards all men alike, and all trades for a similar application of labor. While the moral and physical evils which experience has proved to be inseparable from the present system of inequality, the uncharitableness, the insatiable greediness, the bloodshed, the wrongs of every kind which the records of three thousand years are filled with, can have little or no existence in connection with equality of reward for equal labor. Not only are the greatest advantages, but strict justice also, is on the side of a system of equality. It must be confessed by all men, that the most important discovery or invention, unless labor be applied to bring forth its results, is just as

useless as the merest trifle. Thus, although it may be said, that he who invents a steam engine, confers a greater benefit upon society than the man who makes it; and that he who makes it, does a greater service than he who merely fills it with water, and kindles a fire under it, yet in reality, the labor of the last man is just as necessary to produce the effects desired, as the labor of the first. The drawing, or model of the inventer, is of no value until seconded by the labor of the engine maker, and the perfected engine, until it be put in motion by fire and water, is as worthless as the mere model. The results to be produced by the instrumentality of the engine, are thus, dependent, and equally dependent upon the labor of all the parties concerned. Every man is a link, and an indispensable link, in the chain of effects, the beginning of which is but an idea, and the end, perhaps, the production of a piece of cloth. Thus, although we may entertain different feelings towards the several parties, it does not follow that one should be better paid than another. The inventor will ever receive, in addition to his just pecuniary reward, that which genius only can obtain from us—the tribute of our admiration. Under the present social system—and its high and low employments, equal remuneration for equal labor, is impracticable."

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.—(*Continued.*)

"In the second place, 'There shall be accumulations of former labor, or capital.' We all know that

accumulations are no more than the unconsumed products of former labor—whether houses, machinery, or ships, or any thing else that is useful, or that can assist us in creating more wealth. All these things are capital. Had the first and succeeding generations of men consumed all that they produced, had they left their successors neither houses, tools, nor any kind of wealth, we should now, necessarily, have been as they were, half starved and half clothed savages. It is in the power of every generation, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, to leave the world richer in respect to accumulations than they found it; and it is their duty to do so.

"The principle of accumulation, or saving, seems to be instinctive in man, for it has never yet been entirely lost sight of, although it has been acted upon ignorantly, and with little or no knowledge of the important results connected with its fulfilment. We have inherited the greater part of our present accumulations from preceding generations, and merely hold them, as it were, in trust, for the benefit of ourselves and successors; for the men of the future have as good a title to them as we have. Every generation thus receives a greater or less amount of accumulated wealth from those which preceded it, therefore, in equity, every generation is bound to provide for its successors, in at least the same ratio as itself was provided for, and as population is ever on the increase, so likewise ought accumulations to be always on the increase. That which applies to a generation as a whole, applies also to every individual of such generation, and as there ought to be national accumulation, there ought likewise to be individual accumulation; for the first is dependent on the last. The political economists with the cold-blooded and calcu-

lating voracity, induced by the present system, tell the productive classes that they must accumulate, that they must depend upon their own exertions; but however good the advice may be in principle, it is, while the working man is pressed into the earth by existing usages, no more than the addition of an insult to an injury. They cannot accumulate, and the reason is, not because they are idle; not because they are intemperate; not because they are ignorant; but because those accumulations which have been handed down for the benefit of the present generation, as a whole, are usurped, and their advantages exclusively enjoyed by particular individuals and classes.

"The third and last condition of the economists is, 'That there shall be exchanges.' An exchange is defined to be a transaction between two parties, in which each gives to the other something which he has not so much desire for as he has for the article which he receives in return. Thus, every man who works for hire, exchanges his labor for a certain sum of money, because he would rather work, and receive the money than remain idle and starve. The capitalist, in like manner, would rather give his money for a certain quantity of labor than live upon it as long as it should last, for he sells, or exchanges the produce of such labor for a greater sum than the labor originally costs him, and by these means is enabled, not only to live in idleness, but to increase his store of wealth at the same time! The capitalists, as we have all seen, call this species of exchange, 'a transaction in which both the parties who make the exchange are benefited, consequently, society is a state, presenting an uninterrupted succession of advantages for all its members.' The subject of exchanges is one on which too much attention can-

not be bestowed by the productive classes; for it is more by the infraction of this third condition, by the capitalist, than by all others united, that inequality of condition is produced and maintained, and the working man offered up, bound hand and foot, a sacrifice upon the altar of Mammon! From the very nature of labor and exchange, strict justice not only requires that all exchangers should be mutually, but that they should likewise be equally benefited. Men have only two things which they can exchange with each other, namely, labor and the produce of labor; therefore, let them exchange as they will, they merely give, as it were, labor for labor. If a just system of exchanges were acted upon, the value of all articles would be determined by the entire cost of production, and equal values should always exchange for equal values. If, for instance, it take a hatter one day to make a hat, and a shoemaker the same time to make a pair of shoes, supposing the material used by each to be of the same value, and they exchange these articles with each other, they are not only mutually, but equally benefited; the advantage derived by either party cannot be a disadvantage to the other, as each has given the same amount of labor, and the materials made use of by each were of the same value. But if the hatter should obtain two pair of shoes for one hat, time and material being as before, the exchange would clearly be an unjust one. The hatter would defraud the shoemaker of one day's labor, and were the former to act thus in all his exchanges, he would receive for the labor of half a year the product of some other person's whole year; therefore, the gain of the first would be necessarily a loss to the last. We have, heretofore, acted upon no other than this most unjust

system of exchanges, the workmen have given the labor of a whole year to the capitalist in exchange for the value of only half a year, and from this, and not from the assumed inequality of bodily and mental powers in individuals, has arisen the inequality of wealth and power which at present exists around us.

"It is an inevitable condition of inequality of exchanges, of buying at one price and selling at another, that capitalists shall continue to be capitalists, and working men be working men; the one, a class of tyrants, and the other, a class of slaves, to all eternity. By equality of exchanges, however, no able bodied individual can exist, as thousands now do, unless he fulfil that condition of the economist, 'that there shall be labor;' nor can one class appropriate the labor of another class, as the capitalists now appropriate and enjoy the wealth which the powers of the working man daily call into existence. It is inequality of exchanges which enables one class to live in luxury and idleness, and dooms another to incessant toil! By the present unjust and iniquitous system, exchanges are not only not mutually beneficial to all parties, as the political economists have asserted, but it is plain, from the very nature of an exchange, that there is in most transactions between the capitalist and the producer, after the first remove, no exchange whatever. An exchange implies the giving of one thing for another; but what is it that the capitalist, whether he be manufacturer or landed proprietor, gives in exchange for the labor of the working man? The capitalist gives no labor, for he does not work, he gives no capital, for his store of wealth is being perpetually augmented. It is certain that the capitalist can only have his labor, or his capital, to

exchange against the labor of the working man; and if, as we daily see, the capitalist gives no labor, and his original stock of capital does not decrease, he cannot, in the nature of things, make an exchange with any thing that belongs to himself. The whole transaction plainly shows that the capitalists and proprietors do no more than give the working man for his labor of one week, a part of the wealth which they obtained from him the week before, which just amounts to giving him nothing for something, and is a method of doing business, which however consonant with the established usages of the present system, is by no means compatible with a working man's ideas of justice! The wealth which the capitalist appears to give in exchange for the workman's labor, was generated, neither by the labor nor the riches of the capitalist, but it was originally obtained by the labor of the workman, and it is still daily taken from him by a fraudulent system of unequal exchanges. The whole transaction between the producer and the capitalist, is a palpable deception, a mere farce; it is, in fact, in thousands of instances, no other than a barefaced, though legalized robbery, by means of which the capitalists and proprietors continue to fasten themselves upon the productive classes, and suck from them their whole substance! Those who assist not in production, can never justly be exchangers, for they have nothing on which to draw, and therefore, nothing which they can exchange. No man possesses any natural and inherent wealth within himself; he has merely a capability of laboring; therefore, if a man possess any created wealth, any capital, and have never made use of this capability, and have never labored, the wealth which he holds in possession, cannot rightly belong to him. It must belong

to some persons who have created it by labor, for capital is not self-existent. The vast accumulations now in" America, "therefore, as they are neither the productions of the present race of capitalists, nor their predecessors, and were never given them in exchange for any such labor, do not belong to the capitalist, either on the principle of creation, or the principle of exchange! Nor are they theirs by right of heirship; for, having been produced nationally, they can only be inherited by the nation, as a whole. Thus, view the matter as we will, there is to be seen no towering pile of wealth that has not been scraped together by rapacity; no transaction between the man of labor and the man of money, that is not characterized by fraud and injustice."

I will add no comment of mine to this reasoning, but continue to quote from the same author regarding exchanges.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXCHANGES.

"It has been shown by the economists themselves, that these conditions are absolutely necessary to the existence of human society, namely, 'That there shall be labor—that there shall be accumulations of labor, the produce of labor, or capital—and that there shall be exchanges.' It has likewise been demonstrated, that these conditions, from their very nature, and the relation in which men in society stand with regard to each other, can be evaded by one individual, or one class, only at the expense of other individuals,

or classes; and it follows, therefore, that every man commits a wrong upon some part of the community, if he render not to society an equivalent equal to the benefits which he receives. It has been deduced also, from a consideration of the intention and end of society, not only that all men should labor, and thereby become exchangers, but that equal values should always exchange for equal values; and that as the gain of one man ought never to be the loss of another, value should ever be determined by the cost of production. But we have seen, that under the present arrangements of society, all men do not labor; that all exchangers, therefore, are not equally benefitted; that the gain of the capitalist and rich man is always the loss of the workmen; that this result will invariably take place, and the poor man be left entirely at the mercy of the rich man, under any and every form of government, so long as there is inequality of exchanges; and that equality of exchanges can only be insured under social arrangements, in which labor is universal, and where the remuneration is equal to the labor. A few more examples of the working of the present system, will show us more clearly the utter fatuity of attempting to remedy evils which are inherent in the very constitution of society, in any other manner than by a complete reconstruction of the social system.

"There are in the" United States, "at the present moment, many thousands of persons who have toiled hard all their lives, and yet who are not possessed of property of the value of one year's labor, and there are also many thousands who have never performed one month's labor, and who, nevertheless, are now possessed of wealth of the value of" thousands of dollars. "How came these men in posses-

sion of this capital? They have never labored, and yet they are not only enabled to live without working, but their wealth increases every year. The attainment of wealth by conquest, is so glaringly unjust, that all claims founded upon it, stand self-condemned at once, and that any individual has a right to take to himself, or to grant to another, one single foot of earth, has been denied and disproved already; for the earth is the common property of all its inhabitants, and each one has a just claim not to a particular part of the earth itself, but merely to that wealth which his labor can compel the earth to yield him. Those capitalists who profess to have acquired their riches by deriving a profit from capital through the instrumentality of unequal exchanges, have a claim but one degree more just than the claim by conquest. Our daily experience teaches us, that if we take a slice from a loaf, the slice never grows on again, the loaf is but an accumulation of slices, and the more we cut off it, the less will there remain to be eaten. Such is the case with the loaf of the working man; but that of the capitalist follows not this rule. His loaf continually increases instead of diminishing; with him it is cut and come again forever. Every workman knows that if he saves a few" dollars, "and come to be ill, or out of employment, he can live only for a certain time upon this money. It is his capital, the accumulated produce of his own industry, and it dwindles away until the whole is consumed. And so likewise, if exchanges were equal, would the wealth of the present capitalists gradually go from them to the working classes; every shilling that the rich man spent would leave him a shilling less rich; for, from the nature of things, it must follow, that if a part be taken from a whole, that which

remains as a whole, must be less than it was before such a part was taken from it!

"With respect to the acquisition of wealth by inheritance, it requires but little reflection to convince us, that past circumstances have rendered it impossible for any member of the productive class to have accumulated, by the most incessant hoarding of the produce of his own industry, wealth amounting to one-fiftieth part of such vast accumulations as so many thousands of individual capitalists and proprietors now hold. It is evident, when we take all things into consideration, that it would require the handing down of the savings of many generations of a working man's family, to amount to the sum of even" five thousand dollars, "and that this could be done only by a combination of favorable circumstances, such as would not have fallen to the lot of one family in a million. From the very conditions laid down by the political economists, 'That there shall be labor, and accumulations, and exchanges,' it follows, that there can be no exchanges without accumulations—no accumulations without labor. This latter condition alone condemns, at once, the cause of the capitalist, and shows the injustice and worthlessness of the tenure by which he holds his wealth. There are accumulations, and therefore, there has been labor on the part of certain individuals, or certain classes. If the capitalists have created the accumulations they hold, the accumulations are theirs, by right of creation, and if they have obtained them by exchanging for them other accumulations of equal value, they are theirs by right of exchange; but the great mass of capitalists and proprietors, have never labored in the business of production, and even had they been laborers, they never could have created the wealth in

their possession, for their physical and intellectual powers, and their consequent capability of production is not superior to that of the great body of working men. How comes it to pass, then, that he who is idle is rich, while those who are industrious, toil on in perpetual poverty? How is it that the wealth of the working man remains stationary, or decreases, while that of the capitalist yearly increases? How is it that the rising man of profit rides upon his horse, while the workman walks; the horse gives place to the gig, the gig to the chariot, and as the rich man grows more rich, he grows more lazy, and performs less work? The anomaly, and the wrong connected with it, we have seen, arises solely from unequal exchanges; for, as under the present system, every working man gives to an employer at least six day's labor for an equivalent worth only four or five day's labor, the gains of the last man are necessarily the losses of the first man. Every fortune, therefore, acquired under this system by means of trade, every accumulation of the capitalists, or employers, as a body, is derived from the unsurrendered earnings of the working class, or persons employed, and wherever one man thus becomes rich, he does so only on condition that many men shall remain poor. All men cannot become rich in the common acceptation of the term; but there is no necessity for one human being to be poor. Thus, in whatever light examined, whether as a gift, or as an individual accumulation, or an exchange, or an inheritance, there is proof upon proof, that there is a flaw in the rich man's title, which takes away, at once, its very show of justice and its value. The present wealth of the country was not given to the ancestors of these men, some centuries since, for it did not then exist, and if any

could have been so given, it would long since have been consumed; it has not been acquired by successive accumulations of rich men, for, as a class, they have never been laborers, and even if they had labored, and labored hard, they could not have amassed so much wealth; it has not been obtained by equal exchanges, for, independent of a man's labor, equal exchanges will not make him rich; it has not been acquired by inheritance, by the handing down of savings from one generation of working men to another, for circumstances of every kind have been unfavorable to its transmission, as well as to its accumulation; but this wealth has all been derived from the bones and sinews of the working classes, during successive ages, and it has been taken from them by the fraudulent and slavery-creating system of unequal exchanges. The principle of unequal exchanges is the very life and soul of the present social system, and the inequality of every kind which is inseparable from it. Wherever this principle is acted upon, a man's riches, or his success in life, will be dependent neither upon his morality, nor his mental, nor corporeal faculties. Every individual has an undisputed right to the possession and enjoyment of the wealth which his industry and frugality will enable him to accumulate; but let a working man, under the present system, be as industrious and as frugal as possible, the proceeds of his labor will never make him rich, nor enable him to live for any length of time without working. If he would become wealthy, he must change his position in society, and instead of exchanging his own labor, must become a capitalist, or exchanger of the labor of other people, and thus, by plundering others in the same manner as he himself was plundered, through the medium of unequal

exchanges, he will be able to acquire great gains from the small losses of other people.

"The present system, wherever it enriches a working man, does it thus.—He has accumulated or borrowed, we will suppose, a hundred" dollars, "and takes his station as a capitalist, he '*speculates*' with this money; that is, he makes an unjust and unequal exchange: he purchases a commodity at one price, and without adding any increased value to it by his own labor, he sells the commodity for double what it originally cost him, and thus he becomes rich at the expense of others. Or, again, he procures a certain quantity of labor for his hundred" dollars, "and he sells the product of such labor for two hundred" dollars. "Now, if the labor was originally worth two hundred" dollars, "and this newly-created capitalist gave but one hundred for it, he has clearly defrauded his workmen of one half their just due; and if the labor was worth only one hundred" dollars, "and the capitalist has obtained two hundred for it, it is equally clear, that he has defrauded the parties with whom he made the second exchange; for, he only gave them one hundred for their two hundred, all the gain thus acquired by the capitalist, whether from the first, or second exchange, is extracted entirely from the productive classes.

"Society at large only consists of two parties, those who work and those who do nothing. From the nature of the case, the idlers cannot have been defrauded by the unequal exchange, for, as they do not labor, they can have nothing of their own to exchange, so that the whole gain, the whole accumulated profit, or interest, or whatever else it may be called, which every capitalist receives under the present system, is taken from the producers at large,

from the very working classes of the community, for they only have wherewith to exchange, and that is their labor, and the produce of such labor! The capitalist, by thus continuing to 'exchange,' is shortly in possession of as many thousands as he originally had hundreds, and this, too, with little or no labor on his part, until at length, he retires to enjoy himself on his 'honest gains!' The sons follow the course of the father; they live in luxury and idleness, and so they become parents, and breed away, *ad infinitum*, a race of 'capitalists.' Such is the origin of the great majority of petty capitalists who now grind the working classes to the dust! But of all the vast wealth thus obtained by unequal exchanges, it is self-evident that the original stock, only the hundred" dollars, "or whatever it may be, is all that each capitalist is justly entitled to. The hundred" dollars "belongs to the capitalist, it has, we will suppose, been the produce of his own industry, and to it, therefore, he is justly entitled. But here the justice of his claim ceases, for all the wealth which this sum is instrumental in producing by means of the labor of others, belongs to others, and not to the owner of the hundred" dollars. "This money possesses not within itself the power of locomotion, or any other action; it is no more than the representative of a certain quantity of produce, and can, of itself, do nothing; it is neither worn, nor broken, nor deteriorated, after it has been thus instrumental in production. The capitalist receives it back in the same state as he lent it out, he is not one" cent "less rich from the circumstance of others having made use of his money; therefore, having lost nothing, he is, in strict justice, entitled to no compensation, to nothing except a reward for his labor, equal to that which any other

man receives for an equal expenditure of labor. The political economists and capitalists, have written and printed many books, to impress upon the working man the fallacy that 'the gain of the capitalist is not the loss of the producer.' We are told that labor cannot move one step without capital, that capital is as a shovel to the man who digs, that capital is just as necessary to production as labor itself is. The working man knows all this, for its truth is daily brought home to him; but this mutual dependency between capital and labor has nothing to do with the relative position of the capitalist and the working man, nor does it show that the former should be maintained by the latter. Capital is but so much unconsumed produce, and that which is at this moment in being, exists independent of and is in no way identified with any particular individual, or class. Labor is the parent of it on the one side, and mother Earth on the other, and were every capitalist, and every rich man in the" United States, "to be annihilated tomorrow, not a single particle of wealth, or capital, would disappear with them; nor would the nation itself, be less wealthy, even to the amount" of a cent. "It is the capital, and not the capitalist, that is essential to the operations of the producer."

CHAPTER XV.

EXCHANGES.—(*Continued.*)

"FROM these considerations, then, it is apparent, that whatever is gained to capital is likewise gained to labor; that every increase of the former tends to

diminish the toil of the latter, and that, therefore, every loss to capital, must also be a loss to labor. This truth, though long since observed by the political economists, has never yet been fairly stated by them. They have ever identified capital with one class of the community, and labor with another class, although the two powers have naturally, and should have artificially, no such connection. The economists always attempt to make the prosperity, if not the very existence of the working man, dependent upon the condition of maintaining the capitalist in idleness and luxury. They would not have the workman to eat a meal, until he has produced two, one for himself, and the other for his master; the latter receiving his portion indirectly, by unequal exchanges! By thus dividing society into two classes, and keeping separate the labor and the capital, the economists and capitalists, are enabled, by unequal exchanges, to maintain the supremacy of their class over the working class, and then they infamously and blasphemously, tell the latter, that this state of things has been so ordained by the Almighty! Under the present social system, capital and labor, the shovel and the digger, are two separate and antagonistic powers, and such they always have been, and ever must be, when existing in connection with particular individuals and classes.

"Although capital and labor are intimately connected with and dependent upon each other, and both work together for a common end—that end is production, and not the exaltation of one man and the abasement of another! In connection with particular individuals and classes, however, capital and labor can have no community of interest; they will ever be in perpetual hostility, for the gain of the capitalist

is always the loss of the working man, and the poverty and toil of the last is a necessary consequence of the wealth and idleness of the first. Of all the wealth now existing" in the United States, "worth, as it is, of so many thousands of millions of" dollars, "and produced, as it has been, by the labor of the productive classes; of all this immense wealth, the share which the working man holds and enjoys, is but as an ounce to a ton, a drop to an ocean, in comparison to that which the present social system has enabled the capitalists to obtain possession of. The share of the working man has never yet been greater, and never will be greater, even if millions upon millions be annually produced, so long as the principle of unequal exchanges is tolerated; for, this alone will maintain the present division of society into capitalists and producers, and rear the wealth and the supremacy of the one upon the poverty and the degradation of the other! When the workman has produced a thing, it is his no longer; it belongs to the capitalist, it has been conveyed from the one to the other, by the unseen magic of unequal exchanges. The working man, notwithstanding all his toil, finding himself as poor as ever, forthwith labors away to produce more wealth, and this again, is conveyed to the capitalist in the same manner as the first was. And thus oppressed and plundered, must the working classes toil on to the end of the present social system; for the capitalists and the employers, as such, will always have interests opposed to those of the producers at large. It is the interest of the working man to acquire as much wealth as possible by means of his own labor; it is the interest of the employer to acquire as much wealth as possible by means of profit, or the labor of other people; and

as all profit must come from labor, and as the wealth of the capitalist is but an accumulation of profit, the gain of the capitalist must be the loss of the working man. The very nature of the 'exchange' which takes place between the two parties, will inevitably perpetuate the wealth of the one and the poverty of the other, and thus effectually subvert all equality of rights and laws, whatever may be the form of government established, and whatever may be the merely political power placed in the hands of the working man. Under the present social system, the capitalists and employers are not only distinct from, but they are in a manner independent of the working classes. They have the whole control of the operations of trade; at their fiat production goes forward, or languishes, or ceases altogether; the working man is made comparatively comfortable, or he starves by inches! In all trades, or professions, the capitalist, or employer, receives double, or quadruple remuneration for single work, or for no work at all. This is the great source of LABOR'S WRONGS.

"The essential principles of a well constituted social system, EQUAL EXCHANGES, is now unheeded, and the working men of all trades, are exposed to every wrong and every injustice which the rapacity of their fellow men can inflict upon them! There is no social or governmental wrong which is unconnected with the neglect of the great principle of equal exchanges, or equal remuneration for equal labor; so long as there is inequality of remuneration, there must be inequality of exchanges, there will be inequality of wealth and condition, there will be evasion of labor by some classes, at the expense of other classes, there will be rich and poor, there will be tyrants and slaves! The whole question of remune-

ration and exchanges resolves itself simply into this; shall fifty men receive" ten dollars "each, for a week's labor, or shall they receive only" five "each, and give the remaining" two hundred and fifty "to the capitalist? The producers at large can surely have but one opinion on this question, and they will not forever tolerate the glaring injustice which gives to one man, for one man's labor, the same sum as is given to fifty men for their whole united labor. In defence of the present social system, the capitalists and employers, when they hear of dissatisfaction, tell us that the working classes of the" United States "have little or nothing to complain of; that they live under free institutions; that they can either work or let it alone, and that they are better fed, and clothed, and educated than even kings were in times of old. To render yet more striking the contrast between the present and the past condition of the producers, old records are brought forth, to show that the working men of former times were bought and sold like so many horses, along with the estate to which they were attached; that their houses were but assemblages of sticks and stones, with windows destitute of glass; that they slept upon rushes, strewed upon a damp clay floor, and had a log of wood for a pillow; that they lived upon the coarsest food, and scarcely tasted flesh a dozen times a year; that they had neither books, newspapers, nor knowledge, and had to work or fight as their masters and owners thought fit. If all this be true, and the working class be much better off than their predecessors were, it is no reason why they should not be still better off, and equally as well off, as those who tell them to hold their tongues, and be contented with the position which they now occupy.

"All happiness is comparative, and it is not in human nature to remain satisfied with any station, so long as it is cognizant of a better; nor will men submit to be measured by a low standard, so long as there is a higher in existence. Why should enormous masses of wealth be in possession of the idle and the profligate, when the industrious and the honest are without a penny? Why should well fed, and well clothed magnificence, roll slothfully along in its splendid vehicle, in pursuit of new pleasures to tempt its palled appetite, and the toil-worn artizan be compelled to plod to his daily work with half clothed back, and hungry belly? There is no reason given, for there is not one to be found. The immaculate Spirit of Justice, which exists throughout creation, tells us in accents of eternal truth, that He never instituted these most unjust distinctions among men!"

I am fully convinced, that thousands upon thousands of our hard working citizens will deny the logic laid down in the foregoing chapters. Why do they deny it? because, in the first place, many expect that they themselves shall be able to acquire their thousands of dollars; having an eye to robbing in prospective, they cannot afford to be honest, or to acknowledge that the present system is other than the *ne plus ultra* of perfection! This class of men belong to those interested in keeping things as they are. They may emphatically be styled, the knowingly, and willingly dishonest! This class of society's leeches, or bloodsuckers, will resort to any and every atrocity, sooner than they should be baulked in their wholesale plunder of the poletarians! In the second place, others object to it on the grounds of a better system being impracticable; surely, surely, after the experience of forty centuries, when every form of

government has been tried, and the laborer is still crushed by the capitalist, no humane men will make such paltry objections. There is one thing certain, that whatever change will take place, it must be for the better, it cannot be for the worse.

CHAPTER XVI.

POPULATION AND RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

From a careful perusal of the foregoing chapters, it has been demonstrated, that labor is the parent of wealth, or capital. It has been also proved, that this wealth passes away from the *bona fide* owners, into the possession of the nonproducers. Secretary Walker, as I have shown in the seventh chapter, asserts, that three thousands of millions of dollars worth is annually produced in the United States. There are very few persons, if any, disposed to deny the correctness of Mr. Walker's able statistics. I am led, therefore, to take them as data for the method of illustration which I intend pursuing in this chapter.

Doctor S. Denton, in a letter published in the Michigan Expositor, dated Ann Arbor, December 1843, and addressed to Messrs. John Howland, John Cavender, Lewis Kemp, and others, lays it down as a correct proposition, that after there is as much allowed to each man, woman, and child, for support, as will keep a slave, of the aggregate wealth remaining, be it what it may, that nine-elevenths of it goes to the capitalists, and two-elevenths of it to the laborer! I imagine that I am right in asserting that

a half a dollar per week is a maximum for a slave's maintenance, therefore, taking this sum as a safe guide, and taking the population to be, in round numbers, twenty millions of souls, the following will be the results:

Population of the United States, . -	20,000,000
Number of individuals employed in useful occupations, - - - - - -	5,000,000
Amount of dollars worth of wealth annually produced, - - - - -	3,000,000,000
Amount of dollars, at slaves' maintenance, for twenty millions of souls, a half dollar per week each, -	520,000,000
Remainder after the deduction for maintenance, - - - - - -	2,480,000,000
The nine-elevenths of which is about something more than - - - - (or capitalists moiety.)	2,000,000,000
The producer's share, - - - - .	480,000,000

Here are figures—here are facts; and one fact is worth a ton of argument. Figures of this kind do not lie, and there is no kind of argument that the lawful, and of course, honorable, respected, and respectable swindlers, dread so much as these startling deductions; they are well aware that the days of the system of fraud are passed away, the moment the producers, as a body, understand the system itself. Dr. Denton very wisely remarks, "that the laborers of this country already yield up to the nonproducing classes nine-elevenths of all the wealth which their toil creates, and the tendency is still onward; the nonproducing classes are constantly increasing in numbers, and growing more exorbitant in their demands, till soon another eleventh will be taken, and ere long another, when a bare subsistence will be all that is

left to the laboring man! England has arrived at this stage several years ago, to which we are now looking forward, and one would suppose when a nation had arrived at this crisis, it could go no further; but not so with England, for the ponderous machinery still moved on until labor would barely procure two meals of victuals per day, and raiment and lodging in proportion; and at this very moment, a struggle is going on, if the period has not already arrived, when the demands of the nonproducing classes sponge up all but one meal per day, for the laborer, and a few rags for raiment; and the same causes are in operation here, working out the same appalling results. Increase but slightly the expenses of our complicated forms of government, and our cumbersome system of jurisprudence afford more facilities for the increase of bankers and brokers, and let a few more enter into mercantile pursuits, and these nonproducers will be so numerous as to consume all the products of industry, leaving but a beggarly subsistence for the laboring classes. And who cannot perceive a steady growth in the numbers and demands of nonproducers in this country? They are gradually becoming more numerous and more corpulent, and thus steadily trenching upon the earnings of labor. The labor of the country produces but a given amount, and the question is, who shall have it?" It is as clear as the sun at noonday, that so long as the present monstrous system continues, that the capitalists, that is, the accursed land and moneyed lords, will have it. And it is equally clear, that the present system will continue until the poletarians shall have knowledge enough to change it. It is equally true, that the vampires will keep the producers in ignorance as long as possible upon the subject. But the true reformer

fears them not; he pursues the cause of humanity under every trial.

I here give a description of the various grades of Reformers, which I wrote for, and which was published in the Young American.

"I know not what experience you may have had as regarding Reformers, but I will endeavor to sketch the different classes, if possible, to stimulate all to make greater efforts in this grand and noble undertaking. I find upon having closely examined this matter, that I may hazard the following remarks:—That there are five different kinds of Reformers which may be thus denominated. First and foremost, the sincerely honest, who know all the difficulties of this struggle, who have made up their minds to agitate, agitate, agitate; who are not afraid to avow their principles on any occasion, no matter what may be the consequences, who in adversity and prosperity, through good and through evil report, before the hatred of hostile foes, the sneers and scorn of acquaintances, and the lukewarmness and desertion of pretended friends, will still continue to maintain the immortal doctrines of man's equality; who will not quail or slink away when danger arrives, as arrive it will; who look upon mankind, no matter where born or of what hue, or to which particular creed attached, as the common children of the same impartial and benevolent Creator, and therefore, that one cannot have greater rights than another. Those who believe in this proposition and act upon it, are REFORMERS, and none else. Class two are the ambitiously dishonest, who will work in the movement so long as you allow them to pursue their own way unmolested; their opinion must be law; every man is a fool but themselves; they are eternally looking to self, self,

self; cross their path, and they turn upon you like a copperhead, and denounce the true Reformers, in order to build a reputation for themselves at other people's expense. Class three, are the silly ones whose tongues, like bellows' clappers, are always at work, oftener doing harm to the cause than good, meaning well all the time, yet continually creating mischief. Class four are the take-it-easy ones, the devil-may-care fellows, who will talk reform in a snug elbow chair, on a sofa, or in a comfortable parlor, mere pretenders to reform; but ask them to serve on a committee, can't do it—to stick bills up for a meeting, can't do it—to assist in paying the rent for a Hall, can't do it—to speak at meetings, can't do it—to give us their vote at election times, can't do it—and for all this, they lay claim to the title of Reformers. From such, good Lord, deliver us! Class five, and last, are the traitors, who will appear among us from time to time, to make merchandize of us. These rascals will invariably be found to wear every mask to destroy our movement; money with them is no object, because they will be able to get enough from the people's plunderers to carry on their cannibal designs."

It is the common practice of the self-styled wise men of all generations, to declaim against any changes which are above their own shallow comprehension, or which extend beyond the narrow and contracted circle of themselves and their class! Such persons appear to have no idea that the world can go on in after times any way different to what it went at the precise time they existed! The past is a blank to them, and therefore, the future is a sealed book! To such men every thing that happens to be farther from their eyes than the ends of their own noses, is

'visionary,' every thing which they will not set themselves to perform, is unaccomplishable by others! There are many of those mental blinkards at the present day, and any man who dares but to hope that the sons of labor shall not always be oppressed and enslaved, is the most visionary of all visionaries; any man who dares thus to hope, that men will not always be compelled, by circumstances, to hate and injure each other; that wars shall cease, and mankind dwell in harmony together; that a brighter and a better day is coming, is the most visionary of all visionaries! The terms love, and charity, and morality, imply, if interpreted by the acts of these wide-mouthed and narrow-ribbed screamers against innovation, not things to be felt, and practised, and enjoyed, but certain effects and incomprehensible essences, to be preached about in pulpit and platform harangues, for the edification of the poor and the oppressed. Generated by the present system, and fattening on its corruptions, we never find these scorners of good men, and good works, to be in poverty; we never find them honorably and laboriously engaged in the production of wealth; but, like the scum upon the boiling pot, they dance upon the surface of society; they are ever well to do in the world, always upon the watch for 'profit;' the vocation of such men, is to buy cheap, and sell dear; to accumulate wealth by unjust and unequal exchanges; to batten upon the fruit of the working man's toil! These drivellers loudly inculcate the practice of morality and virtue; but although they see vice and misery overspreading the whole earth, and every moral injunction unheeded, and unfulfilled, these self-justified Pharisees, will themselves, do nothing towards accomplishing the end which they so often pro-

fess to have in view! On the contrary, they are perpetually spouting their frothy and unmeaning gabble against all innovaters, and all changes! The world must wait their bidding, to move forward, or they 'hiss and scream like frightened geese!'"

It has been asserted in the Encyclopædia Americana, "that if all the wealth in the United States were destroyed at one fell swoop, the whole of it could be replaced in the short space of eight years." Admitting, therefore, the truth of this statement, it demonstrates that there is now property in the country to the enormous amount of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars, which if divided equally among the whole population, would give to each individual the sum of twelve hundred dollars! However, a division of this nature would be neither practicable nor desirable; the country would be deluged with blood were such a thing attempted; besides, if such a division did actually take place, so long as the present system of unequal exchanges existed, in less than twelve months things would be in exactly the same position in which they were prior to the division. What, therefore, is wanted by the producers, is to destroy the present system, and establish a just system of equality in its stead.

CHAPTER XVII.

POPULATION AND RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.—(*Continued.*)

UNDER the present nefarious system, the following classes have to be maintained by the producers, in idleness, in luxury, or in debauchery.

No. 1. Lawyers.
2. Bankers.
3. Landlords.
4. Merchants.
5. Manufacturers.
6. Brokers.
7. Legislators.
8. Soldiers.
No. 9. Judges, and other small fry, in connection with law.
10. Doctors.
11. Shopkeepers.
12. Those engaged in the manufacture of useless, or injurious articles.

All these classes, with their servants and dependents, must, in the very nature of things, live upon labor. It is unnecessary here to enter into any argument to prove, that under a just system, there would be no necessity for nearly the whole of these classes, legislators and surgeons alone, excepted; but the expense of these would be no more than that of remunerative reproductive labor; under a proper system of education, all would acquire a knowledge of physiology and dietetics, so far as to enable them to dispense with the medical profession, almost entirely. It is well known that most of the diseases of the industrious portion of the people are contracted by incessant toil, by unwholesome food, and by unhealthy habitations; and those of the rich and idle by lazy, luxurious habits. Under a proper system of society, such could not possibly be the case. True it is, there would be no palaces, but then there could be no hovels; all must labor, but then the exercise would be healthy. Let the working man only for a moment, contrast his condition with the condition of the capitalist. The working man lives in some dirty, narrow court, lane, or alley, often in a cellar, or garret, ill ventilated, where no person can find his *home*, (pardon the expression,) his DEN, except a politician; the capitalist lives in a beautiful, airy building, the rooms of which

are filled with furniture of the most costly workmanship, the floors carpeted in the most splendid manner. The working man must rise at the earliest dawn, summer and winter, in cold, in wet, in hail, or in sunshine, and go and make wealth for others, for the merest pittance; the capitalist never soils his hands, he rides in his coach, with a man dressed like a harlequin before, and another behind; the working man's wife and children have hardly apparel enough to keep themselves decent; the capitalist's wife and children are bedizzened in silks, in satins, and other costly fabrics. The working man cannot afford to give his children even the rudiments of an education; the capitalist has a piano for his daughters, and his sons are sent to college. The life of the former is a continual struggle for a mere subsistence; that of the latter is only annoyed by a cloyed appetite, or how to squeeze more profit out of the heart's blood of his wages slaves!

It has now been demonstrated, that labor is the pillar of the whole social superstructure; surely, then, it is high time to elevate it to its proper and just standard. "Having thus probed the evil to its core, who can be surprised at the discontent of the toiling millions? who will start at their fierce and deep-breathed imprecations on a system which yearly plunders them of wealth of the value of" two thousand millions of dollars, "a system which compels them to produce this vast amount for the enjoyment of those who treat them with derision and contempt? Shall the working man everlastingly toil, and sweat, and be forever thus plundered, and degraded, and trampled upon? Is it to pamper the unholy pride of those who thus abuse him, that the infancy of his little ones is seared and blighted amid the foul and

steamy air of cotton mills, and factories—that his own manhood is bowed down with the premature age produced by excessive toil? Shall his complaints be always hushed with the roar of artillery—his indignant heart stilled with the thrust of the bayonet—his upbraidings stifled in dungeons? If he would have things to continue thus, let him still go on as he has hitherto done, drivelling and dreaming of relief from" party politicians, "from classes and castes, who deriving their wealth and supremacy from his toil and abasement, know him only as a bondman, or an inferior! If the working man would change this state of things, he must no longer look to mere effects; he must look to causes; he must at once destroy the source from whence his sufferings arise! Equal rights, and equal laws, cannot, from the nature of things, exist in connection with unequal duties, unequal wealth, and unequal exchanges! 'He who hath a wife and child, hath given hostages to fortune,' and ought not fortune to give him hostages? The toils of the past and the present, should always secure to the working man and his family, the enjoyment of the future. But the present system offers the worn out workman no enjoyment, and no alleviation of unmerited distress and poverty, except in connection with degradation and hardship! And, again, what kind of a welcome, and a shelter, does society at large now offer to the wife and the children of the expiring working man—to those for whom he has worn out himself in unremitting toil? None—they wander over the earth as poor and pennyless beggars, or like criminals, they are confined to pauper prisons! The mother becomes separated from her children, and the children from each other; the chords which bound their young hearts, are snapped asunder forever, and

they wander over the earth, homeless and friendless, despised and enslaved, because they are ignorant; and disregarded, and ill treated, because they are poor. Is it to be wondered at, that those unfavorable circumstances should do their work—that misery and prostitution is the portion of the one sex, and the penitentiary and the gallows the fate of the other? Look at the present social system, on whatever side, and in whatever light we may, we behold but one compact mass of deformity and depravity! If tyranny would revel in the blood and wealth of the people, then is this the proper system for tyranny; if ignorance would enslave and stultify the mind, and manufacture soulless tools for despotism, then is this the proper system for ignorance; if the commission of crime, and the practice of vice, and the waste of labor, be the chief ends for which men unite in society, then is this the proper social system! It is for all men and all nations to declare, whether tyranny and" mastercraft, "robbery and ignorance, wholesale murder, and intellectual depravation, shall any longer triumph over truth and justice!"

The founders of the Republic paved the road for us to travel, and we are recreants to the holy cause of humanity if we halt on the journey!

CHAPTER XVIII.

POPULATION AND RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.—(*Continued.*)

The two classes which constitute the citizens of the Republic, are the producers on the one side, and

the capitalists on the other; all other classes, and grades of classes, resolve themselves into these two. As I have already, in general terms, proved that the laborer is cheated out of nine dollars out of eleven, which he earns, it would be a work of supererogation to travel over the same ground a second time; but as there is no system of reasoning which has the tendency of convincing the sceptical, as comparing one thing with another, I continue to pursue this course in the present chapter, and exhibit at a glance, how different trades are remunerated.

Wages per day of a hand loom weaver, 70 cents.
" " a shoemaker, - - 90 "
" " a tailor, - - - - 90 "
" " an agricult'l. laborer, 75 "
" " a sheriff of Philad'a., 80 dollars.
" " the President of U. S., 68 "
" " a Senator of the U.S., 8 dollars and mileage.
" " a Major General, - 11 dollars, with rations for fifteen men, and horses.
" " a Commodore, - - 11 dollars.
" " a private soldier, - 50 cents.
" " a sailor before the mast, 50 "

Ought the working men to remain satisfied with the iniquitous system which thus dooms and damns them from the cradle to the coffin, to endless toil, and never-ceasing drudgery? Is not flour as necessary as a President's Message; clothes as sheriffs' writs; houses as Senators' harangues; and the privates' bayonet as the sword of the General? Why, then, this outrageous difference? why permit these usages of a barbarous age to exist? The Commissioner of Patents, gives

the following imformation on the resources of the Union.

Bushels of wheat produced in 1847, -	111,530,000
" of Indian corn, - - - - -	540,000,000
" of rye, - - - - - - - - -	31,350,000
" of oats, - - - - - - - -	176,000,000
" of buckwheat, - - - - -	11,674,000
" of barley, - - - - - - - -	5,735,000
Pounds of tobacco, - - - - - -	219,964,000
" of cotton, - - - - - - -	1,026,500,000
Bushels of rice, - - - - - - - -	103,400,500
" potatoes, - - - - - - - -	97,018,000
Pounds of silk, - - - - - - - - -	404,600

These quantities, if fairly divided among the whole population, would give the following results, assuming the population to be twenty millions of inhabitants.

Wheat,	5½	bush.each.	Potatoes,	4¾	bush.each.
Indian corn,	27	"	Tobacco,	11	lbs. each.
Rye,	1½	"	Cotton,	51¼	"
Oats,	8¾	"	Rice,	5	"
Buckwheat,	½	"	Silk,	⅕	"
Barley,	¼	"			

I presume that I need hardly inquire as to whether each head of a family received the just dividend. I am aware that this method of reasoning will be abhorred and dreaded by those who live upon labor. I am also certain, that the prejudice of party is hard to be removed; and sure I am, that the now almost obsolete cry of infidel, of anarchist, or of leveller, will be raised against any man having the moral honesty, and physical courage, to rescue labor from their deadly clutches! St. Paul, and none will doubt his orthodoxy, lays it down as a maxim, that "he that

does not work, neither shall he eat:" surely, then, I ought to receive the highest commendation for endeavoring to carry the Apostle's injunction into operation. "Oh, but," say the wiseacres, "labor, or rather the wages of labor, can never be regulated by law!" And pray, Messrs. Wiseacres, how is it that the wages of the constables, of the aldermen, of the members of the State Legislatures, and of Congress, of judges, are all regulated by law? What is to prevent the agricultural laborer, the weaver, the spinner, the stonemason, and all other trades, from being similarly regulated? Nothing upon earth, but the cupidity and avarice of the capitalists, who, sooner than live to witness so salutary and just a system adopted, would murder one half of the human race!

The President of the United States receives twenty-five thousand dollars per annum; a working man, say, averages two hundred and fifty dollars, in the same length of time. It would take a working man one hundred years, at this remuneration, to earn the President's salary for one year! So long as the American citizen remains contented to witness this disparity in the wages of one as contrasted with another man, he must expect to behold his country become a political battle field for faction, where each mere political partisan belches forth, that widespread ruin will overwhelm the land, unless that his party are the successful gladiators! The proper interpretation of which is, elect me to office, that I may feather my nest in the general scramble, and that I may be enabled to live in luxury and idleness at the expense of the laborer.

In the midst of this land, teeming with abundance, there is want and suffering, vice and crime, at our

very doors. Take New York and its statistics. There are of

Unfortunate women,	13,000
Thieves, illegal,	4,000
Houses of ill fame,	4,000
Destitute persons, relieved by different institutions,	75,000

Can the advocates of the present system, look an honest man in the face, and say that it is not high time there should be a change! "Proclaim it not in Gath, tell it not in Ascalon," that there are wretches so utterly lost to shame, as to continue to defend the present cannibal state of society, after having viewed it in all its bearings! Be it the work of the reformer to change it effectually.

CHAPTER XIX.

LANDLORDISM.

The monopoly of land has led to a monopoly of money; the monopoly of money to a monopoly of education; the monopoly of education has led to a monopoly of all social and political power! The departure from the first great natural law, has led to the violation of every other right. Look over this world of ours, and in every land, and among every people, and under every form of government, are the land pirates to be found seizing upon the soil, and parcelling it out, as best suits their own interests. From an infinitely remote antiquity, the struggle ever

has been between justice and injustice, between right and might.

"Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne."

The iron heel of the despot is ever stamped upon the neck of those of whom he has made slaves. The earth, the water, the air, the sun's heat, the light, were never made by any man, consequently, no human being can claim that which he never produced, or made; man can only claim that which he produces, beyond this it is impossible to go! Men have eyes, therefore, they require light; and that man who would monopolize the light, would be pronounced a miscreant and a robber. Therefore, it is, that as the Creator has made light for all, it follows, as a matter of fact, that no one man, or one class of men, can arrogate to themselves the right of keeping the light to themselves, to the exclusion of the bulk of mankind! If this argument be true, it follows, that the other elements of nature should be the common property of the human race; for, as the Creator has made all things for man in general, therefore, man's rights to them are universal, and no system, or plan, or scheme, or device, either legal, or illegal, can alienate those rights from him—no earthly power, or combination of powers, or legislatures, can fritter away an atom of that right! It is an erroneous idea, that rights can be taken away; men may be debarred from exercising their rights, but the rights exist, (independent of tyrannies,) sacred and eternal! The air is necessary for human life, it is the common property of the race: now what would be said of a body of men who entered into a solemn league and covenant, to bottle up the air, and sell it at extremely dear prices? Would they not be pronounced murderers,

robbers, brigands, bandits, villains, rascals, scoundrels, miscreants; nay, more, would it not be said, that they were demons, in the form of humanity!

Wherever the soil of a nation has been monopolized by the few, there has the cup of bitterness been drained to the dregs, and all by the miserable producers. The present condition of the world is proof positive of the veracity of this statement. Behold the condition of the ryot on the banks of the Ganges; the boor by the frozen Borodino; the serf through the length and breadth of Poland; the lazzaroni in sunny Italy; the peasant in fertile Ireland; are strong evidences of the truth of these statements! Wherever and whenever the masses have asked that justice should be conceded to them, they have been met by brute force, and slaughtered like so many sheep! Wherever and whenever any man has dared to assert that the rights of all men are equal, that man has been murdered. But "there always have been in all countries, and under all forms of government, individuals in mental advance of, and apparently in opposition to the main body of a people. They are the pioneers of the march of mind; the first to give battle to prejudice, and the first to fall before it; and although they make the road to knowledge, to freedom, and to happiness, practicable and easy, they do so only by paving the way with their own bones. The vocation of these invaders of the dark empire of ignorance and tyranny, renders them the especial dread of despots, and all the upholders of usurped power, and unjustly acquired wealth; and they are, therefore, always persecuted with a horrible malignancy, which no other being but man can feel or exercise! When we take into consideration the various circumstances which have retarded

human improvement, we cannot be surprised that the disenthralment of man from man, has not yet been achieved. Under despotism, and the majority of governments are little else than despotisms, the knowledge of truth and liberty progresses slowly; for the gibbet and the dungeon are of too easy access to be neglected by the governors, especially where custom has made the immolation of the victim a matter but of little moment. Should the ruling few think fit to give a reason for their bloody acts, they fabricate some black and odious lie, calculated to mislead the multitude, and work upon their passions, and their prejudices, and the unhappy and enslaved people are made to gloat upon the sufferings, and decry the principles of him who would have made them enlightened and happy; they are taught to regard him as one of the deadliest enemies of the human race, and believing him to be such, they exult at his discomfiture, and glory in his downfall! The governors cry, "crucify him," and the deluded-governed, loudly echo, "crucify him!" Should the fearless champion of truth escape for a time with life, it makes but little difference in favor of his cause. Every thing is against him. The great body of those who are oppressed, and who stand most in need of deliverance, are, perhaps, unable to read, and the oral communication of political knowledge, even in countries professing to enjoy the liberty of thought, and speech, is almost as slow and unsafe a method as that adopted by means of books. Wherever the body is enslaved, the mind is more tyrannized over, for the anathema of the bigot is ever at the call of the despot, and the hereafter of the first, is always more dreaded by an ignorant people than the present tyranny of the last! The minds of the oppressor and the oppressed, are

warped and confined from infancy to manhood; and thus, benighted and enslaved, does generation follow generation, and those simple truths and principles which, under certain circumstances, might have become universally known and acted upon, during the passing of one generation, are under other circumstances, almost unknown and unregarded, at the end of centuries. It is time that man went to first principles; it is time that he broke through those conventional cobwebs, which, spun by his own ignorance, and fastened upon him by his own hands, have for ages bound his body and his soul as firmly as if they had been fetters of adamant, and had been imposed upon him by the immutable decrees of the Creator! Past and present events afford ample demonstration, that there is something inherently wrong in our social arrangements, something which tends inevitably to generate misery and crime, and to exalt worthlessness at the expense of merit! We are acquainted with justice only by name. Our whole social fabric is only one vast Babel of interests, in which true charity, and morality, and brotherly love, have no existence! The hand of every man is, more or less, raised against every other man; the interest of every class is opposed to the interest of every other class; and all other interests are in opposition and hostility to the working men's interest! This unnatural state of things was originally, indeed, and is now maintained by man's ignorance of, or inattention to first principles! The landlord and the money lords of the earth, have, and will try to perpetuate that ignorance; in proof of which I here insert an original article of mine from the columns of the Young American:

"When the useful classes of France rose like a

giant and overthrew 'the blood-cemented thrones of landlordism and usury,' the middle classes, the Burgeosie, the profit-mongers at first made common cause with the people to destroy the throne, the church, and the aristocracy; but the moment the people insisted upon the benefits of the Revolution being extended to themselves, that very moment the Burgeosie, or shopocracy, endeavored to arrest the Revolution; nor did they stop until they plunged France into anarchy, and finally into despotism; and they also murdered all the good men, all the real patriots of the Republic—and not only did they assassinate their bodies, but they have also assassinated their characters. How is it, I ask, that Mirabeau and Bailey, and the whole of that school are, and have been praised for their love of liberty? Simply because they were for a mere change of political and social power from the feudal aristocracy to themselves; and further, because Thiers and Mignet, and Allison and Scott, and Montholon and Las Cases, and the whole crew of venal and prostitute authors, who have written of the Revolution, belong to the same class; and therefore, it is that they misrepresent the occurrences of that ever-to-be-remembered and never-to-be-forgotten era.—When the Revolution had fairly set in, the French republicans were divided at once into two classes, namely, the producing classes on the one hand, and the Burgeosie on the other. The chiefs or leaders of the former were Robespierre, Marat, and St. Just, with other subordinate co-operators, and were called in the National Convention, the Mountain Party. The chiefs of the latter, were Danton, Bailey, &c., and were called the Gironde. The aim of Robespierre, Marat, and St. Just, was to secure to the producers all that they produced. Could any thing be more fair, more

just, or more reasonable than this? Most certainly not. For endeavoring to accomplish so holy and so desirable an object, they were thwarted, denounced, circumvented, and finally murdered by the cannibal vampires who would now, as they did then, if they dare, kill any man, or set of men, who may have the honesty and fearlessness to undermine 'the blood-cemented thrones of landlordism and usury.'

"Show me one single movement for the benefit of the proletarians, and then I will show you the diabolical plottings of the landlords and usurers. The reason why such men are patriots, is, that in the past political changes of the world, the power of those two classes has always remained intact; has been always considered too sacred in every past political change. Whether it has been monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy, the landlords and usurers have been permitted to build their murderous temple on the wrongs and misfortunes of the producers; therefore, they care not what the form of government may be, so long as their unhallowed power is not interfered with. But the moment that a great social change is attempted, then it is that all the strength of this hydra-headed monster is put forth to destroy the righteous undertaking. Such we have seen to be the fate of the leaders of the French equalitarians; such has been attempted against the leaders of the English Chartists; the British Burgeosie have murdered the British Chartists, have transported their leaders, have imprisoned the good men of that movement, and would, sooner than witness a social change, burn one half of the property of the British Isles, and murder half of their inhabitants. Suppose that by the next arrival we should receive intelligence that Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien, Doctor M'Douall, or

James Leach, were murdered by the middle classes, we would hardly get even a transient notice of the event in the press; or, if mentioned at all, we would be veraciously informed that they were a set of levellers, agrarians, anarchists, and destructives, most assuredly; and yet these men are the best friends of the working people in England."

CHAPTER XX.

LANDLORDISM.—(*Continued.*)

To remedy the present calamitous state of society, the following propositions ought to be the basis of a future social system.

First. That the soil of a country should be the common property of the people.

Second. That no individual should be allowed to hold more than is necessary to maintain himself and family in comfort.

Third. That the homestead should be exempt from forced sale for debt or mortgage.

I cannot do better than to fortify my position by the quotation of the opinions of great statesmen, of great philosophers, of great philanthropists, of great political writers, and of good men. For, although the opinions of such men cannot make that which is true in fact, to be false in theory, or vice versa, yet their opinions carry a certain weight with the mass of mankind. The republican will admire the doctrines of a Jefferson and a Jackson, and the practical Christian will yield a ready assent to the law of the New Testament.

We commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.—2 Thess. iii. 10.

The land, or earth, in any country, or neighborhood, with every thing in, or on the same, or pertaining thereto, belongs at all times to the living inhabitants of the said country, or neighborhood, in an equal manner. For there is no living but on land, and its productions; consequently, what we cannot live without, we have the same property in as in our lives.—*Thomas Spence.*

The earth is the habitation, the natural inheritance of all mankind, of ages present and to come: a habitation belonging to no man in particular, but to every man; and one in which *all* have an *equal* right to dwell.—*John Gray.*

A people among whom equality reigned, would possess every thing they wanted where they possessed the means of subsistence. Why should they pursue additional wealth or territory? No man can cultivate more than a certain portion of land.—*Godwin.*

No one is able to produce a charter from heaven, or has any better title to a particular possession than his neighbor.—*Paley.*

There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth; and, though he had a natural right to *occupy* it, he had no right to *locate as his property in perpetuity*, any part of it; neither did the Creator of the earth open a land office, from whence the first title deeds should issue.—*Thomas Paine.*

My reason teaches me that *land cannot be sold*

The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon, and cultivate, as far as is necessary for their subsistence; and so long as they occupy and cultivate it, they have the right to the soil—but if they voluntarily leave it, then any other people have a right to settle upon it. Nothing can be sold, but such things as can be carried away.—*Black Hawk.*

The remedy I propose for the increasing pauperism of the United States, and of New York in particular, is the location of the poor on the lands of the far West, which would not only afford permanent relief to our unhappy brethren, but would restore that self-respect and honorable principle, inseparable from citizenship.—*Rev. Wm. H. Channing's Lecture, Feb.* 28, 1844.

There is no foundation in nature, or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land.—*Blackstone.*

The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.—*Jefferson's Last Letter.*

Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two: To the Almighty God, and to all his children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell land on any other principle: it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it.—*Thomas Carlisle.*

Have the landlords dominion in their lands? or do

they lawfully possess only the title of them? Can they do what they like with their lands?—*Cobbett.*

Man's right to the earth, to possess it, cultivate it, and enjoy its fruits, is Divine, and rests on the will of the Creator. The evidences of this are in the Bible, in man's constitution, in the simple fact that man is placed here under circumstances which render his possession of the earth indispensable to his very subsistence. God gave the earth to the children of men.—*Brownson.*

I set out on this ground, which I suppose to be self-evident, that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

I am now reduced to a thousand acres, and I exult in the diminution, since the happiness of others is promoted by participation.—*Lafayette.*

To afford every American citizen of enterprise, the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands.—*Jackson's Message*, 1832.

It is thus that the earth expands her fruitful bosom, and lavishes treasures among those happy people who cultivate it for themselves. She seems to smile and be enlivened at the sweet aspect of liberty; she loves to nourish mankind! On the contrary, the mournful ruins, the heath and brambles which cover that distant country, proclaim, from afar, that it is under the dominion of an absent proprietor, and that it yields with reluctance, a scanty produce to slaves who reap no advantage from it.—*Rousseau.*

In short, (Mr. Webster said,) he would put it to

any man who possessed the blessing of children, whether he would not hope rather that they would be freeholders, though they should till their own soil with their own hands, with the reasonable prospect of respectability and independence, than they should go through life as journeymen manufacturers, taking their chance of the ignorance, and the vice, the profligacy, and the poverty of that condition, though it were in the best manufactory in the richest city in the world.—*Extract from Daniel Webster's Free Trade Speech, delivered in Boston, October* 1820.

On the contrary, it is a wise policy to afford facilities to our citizens to become the owners, at low and moderate rates, of freeholds of their own, instead of being the tenants and dependents of others. If it be apprehended that these lands, if reduced in price, would be secured in large quantities by speculators and capitalists, the sales may be restricted, in limited quantities, to actual settlers or persons purchasing for purposes of cultivation.—*President Polk's Message, December* 8, 1846.

Jefferson has wisely said, "that there are three ways by which a nation can become rich—viz. first, by conquest; second, by commerce, and the third, by agriculture. The first is by highway robbery and murder; the second is by chicane and fraud; and the third is the only just and legitimate method." In addition to the authorities already quoted, the Bible proves, to a demonstration, that under the Mosaic law, the soil of Judea belonged to the whole people; in proof of which I quote part of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus.

The land shall not be sold forever: for the land

is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession, ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold. And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it; then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; that he may return unto his possession. But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

And if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold: within a full year may he redeem it. And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee. But the houses of the villages, which have no walls round about them, shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed; and they shall go out in the jubilee.—Lev. xxv. 23—31.

Let the working men of America only ponder for a moment upon the terror and the consternation which would seize upon the oppressors of the people, if this chapter were to be enforced to-morrow! It is more than fifty years since there has been a balance sheet, and it is high time that accounts should be squared—it is high time that each man should get his own! The land and moneyed lords of the earth, will make

common cause against the people, and if the meek and lowly Jesus came into our mammon-worshipping city, to rebuke the high priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees of this generation, he would be put to death by them, without one qualm of conscience! The necessity of the earth belonging to all instead of to the few, is now apparent to every honest man; to the man of extortion and of murder, it is not apparent, because the man who has a thousand dollars a year for being a rogue, the devil himself, backed out by Doctor Faustus, could not make an honest one of him!

I find that I must recur again to the wages of labor; the Commissioner of Patents gives us the following estimate.

Wages of Labor.—The report of the Commissioner of Patents contains an extended tabular statement of the prices paid to farm laborers, and to mechanics, in the various counties of the different States of the Union. The facts thus presented, must be interesting to our readers generally, and we give the substance of them in a condensed form.

Farm Laborers.—Maine, northern parts, $12 to $15 per month.

New Hampshire and Vermont, $12 per month.

Massachusetts, eastern, $12 to $14 per month.

Massachusetts, western, $11 per month.

New York, mostly $10 per month, often $12 per month, a very few $8 per month.

New Jersey, $15 per month, and not boarded.

Pennsylvania, mostly $10 to $12 per month.

Maryland, $8 to $10 per month; 37½ to 50 cents per day.

Virginia, southern, $5 per month; northwestern, $10 per month.

North Carolina, northern and central, $7 to $8 per month; western, 50 to 75 cents per day.

South Carolina, western, $5 per month; northwestern, $6 to $10 per month; northeastern, 28 cents per day; central, $8 to $10 per month; white laborers, $15 per month.

Georgia, northwestern, $15 per month, or 75 cents per day.

Alabama, southern, 30 cents per day; northern, 25 cents a day; central, 50 cents a day.

Mississippi, colored, 50 cents a day; white, $12 to $15 per month, and found; newer parts, 50 cents per day.

Tennessee, western, $8 to $12 per month; eastern, $10 to $12 per month.

Ohio, mostly $10 per month; rather higher in the southern parts.

Indiana, $9 to $10 per month.

Illinois, central and southern, $8 to $10 per month; northern, $15 to $20 per month.

Michigan, very variable; average about $11 per month.

Iowa, about $12.50 per month.

As a general average, wages are higher in more newly settled regions, especially where emigration is rapid and enterprise considerable; in older country places, the wages are lower, except near large cities, where they are high. In the slaveholding States, wages are generally considerably lower than elsewhere, with the exception of the sugar region in Louisiana, and the more southern, newer, and cotton producing portions. To these general remarks, there are, of course, exceptions.

Mechanics.—In the more northern and eastern States, the daily wages are from one dollar to one

dollar twenty-five cents, being higher in cities. In the more northern slave States, wages are not quite so high. In the newer slave States, the wages of mechanics are higher, varying from one to two dollars. In the Western States, the price is generally variable, being from 75 cents to two dollars per day; scarcity in a supply tending to advance the price; while the low price of provisions, and consequent higher rates of money, has a contrary tendency.

In England the average wages of a laborer are forty cents per day; but the standard varies greatly. The Nottingham stocking weavers, in an address to the public, stated that after toiling from fourteen to sixteen hours per day, they could earn only from one dollar to one dollar and twenty-five cents per week; and were obliged to subsist on bread and water, or potatoes and salt. In Ireland, the average price of common labor is from ten to twelve cents per day. In France, the common wages of a hired laborer are thirty-seven dollars fifteen cents, for a man, and eighteen dollars and seventy-five, for a woman, annually; the taxes upon which are equal to one-fifth of the nett product. In some parts of India, where the laborers want but a little rice and salt, the common wages are as low as five cents a day.

Pray, Mr. Commissioner, why did you not tell the people that there are hundreds of women in New York, making shirts at seven cents a piece, and making pants at five cents each? why did you not inform us, that on an average, the mechanics, who receive such high wages, are idle three months out of every twelve? But why pursue this subject further, when every man who has read this, comprehends this position in all its bearings.

CHAPTER XXI.

LANDLORDISM.—(*Continued.*)

THE opponents of the earth being the common property of all its inhabitants, raise the following objections against it:

First. That it is impracticable and Utopian: which being interpreted, means that every attempt at reform, or change, from bad to good, on the part of the oppressed, shall be thwarted and crushed, by the profit-mongers.

Second. That the advocates of reform are infidels, levellers, and anarchists: the meaning of which is, that sooner than the system at present in operation shall be changed, that *we will*, (that is, the profit-mongers,) ruin the cause of humanity, by assassinating the characters of the real friends of human rights!

Third. That another system of society will destroy enterprise: that is, the enterprise of legal thieves and scoundrels, will be forever prevented, "and peace on earth, and good will to men," be established, for their rascality!

Fourth. That the freedom of the soil to the whole race of man, is unjust: that is, land robbers and speculators can no more hold, or acquire land exclusively to themselves, but that all men shall be secured in their just rights, without fear or favor.

Fifth. That to exempt the homestead is unjust: inasmuch as it will protect the widow and the orphan from the rackrenter and extortioner, and destroy the grasping clutches of avarice; and that, as all debts between man and man, being debts of honor, no man will then give or take credit upon any other plea or

plan, than an industrious and honest character. The sincerely good and wise will make no objections, or raise no obstacles to the trial of a system which promises to be of such benign influence to man! The landlords and usurers, on the contrary, will oppose it by every means at their disposal. Why do I say so? because, in all ages of the world, in every clime, under every circumstance, and among every people, the advocates of human rights have been ruthlessly butchered by these infernal monsters! The two brothers, Caius and Tiberius Gracchus, fell victims to the Moloch power of these classes, upwards of two thousand years ago. Julius Cæsar, whose greatest crime was the ineffectual effort to arrest the avarice of the Roman landlords and usurers, and to have an agrarian law passed for the benefit of his poor fellow citizens, was murdered in the very Senate house, by that pink of perfection, Brutus, and his lawless gang of usurious conspirators! When I say that Brutus was a usurer, I make no false assertion, for he lent money at fifty per cent. per annum, compound interest; and when his debtors were unable to pay, he ordered his *attorney* to sell their stock, and even to sell themselves into slavery, to satisfy his rapacity. "Yet Brutus was an honorable man, and they were all honorable men!" Brutus, in the moral acceptation of the term, was a conspirator, a usurer, an assassin, a murderer, and a patrician, or an aristocrat! How is it, that the hireling and venal authors from that day to this, have praised Brutus and his copartners in villany and crime, to the seventh heaven, as the greatest patriots the world ever saw? Simply because all these wretches wrote from mercenary motives; because they were paid by the robbers of the people! Assassination is extremely patriotic

so long as tyrants commit the act; but let a whole people bring a perfidious king to the block, and the maledictions of heaven are sure to be invoked upon the people of that guilty nation! How wicked, how criminal, how horrible, is assassination, when a tyrant is killed! If an Irish peasant shoots a landlord, he deserves to be hanged—not a doubt of it; but if a hundred thousand peasants are slaughtered, or millions starved to death, no doubt, also, but it is to preserve law and property! How dreadful an occurrence is this affair of assassination, how shocking to the nerves of an aristocrat; but how noble, how sublime, how patriotically grand, when the friend of freedom perishes! These atrocious classes, murdered Rienzi, the last and the greatest of the great tribunes of the Eternal City! Watt Tyler, and Jack Cade, perished by their hands! Robespierre, St. Just, and Marat, fell victims to the same ruthless and destroying classes; and not satisfied with immolating these great and good men on the altar of mammon and unrighteousness; they have also belied them with the most savage and relentless hatred! Why have they done so? because they know that the only way to maintain their unhallowed power, is to malign the advocates of reform, as the best way, and the surest to accomplish their own unhallowed ends!

It is not for me to feebly direct the working man's attention to the independence of an agricultural life. The free air of heaven, the clear stream, the neat farm house, the well stocked barn, the fresh milk, butter and eggs, the poultry, the sheep, the goats, the horses, the milk cows, the fat hogs, the fields yellow with corn, the garden full of good vegetables, the snug orchard, the free earth under the farmer's foot, the broad blue sky over his head, all prove, all are

evidences that his is the most independent life of the whole community! He owns no master but his Creator; he obeys no will but the law; no factory tyrant, or landed aristocrat, can take from him the fruits of his industry! I grant that he has to labor. Comforts like these do not spring up by magic; but do not the haggard, pale faced, stunted denizens of our cities labor, and can they ever realize these comforts, this independence? never—never! I strictly caution any person from inferring that I am in favor of taking away one penny's worth of property, or land, from those who now possess such. I am opposed to all *ex post facto* laws. I go so far as to say, that I would secure to the present possessors of wealth, safely, all their present unjustly acquired gains; my laws, or regulations, would in prospective go to establish, from this time henceforward, the right of all men to the earth, to air, to water, to heat; that no man should be able to acquire any wealth for the future, except by honest labor, by equal exchanges! The just man will not oppose this—the unjust one will.

CHAPTER XXII.

MONEY.

In the foregoing chapters, I have pointed out those social evils which weigh heavy on the people; I have stated that a metallic currency is the safest, so long as the present speculating system will continue, because it is more impossible to expand gold and silver than paper. But under a just system, the precious metals might be entirely dispensed with, in internal

regulations. I submit the following propositions in connection with a circulating medium, viz.

That there ought to be money enough at all times in a country to pay the laborer for all the surplus produce which he chooses to sell to society.

This proposition cannot be evaded by the economists; because if the employer has not the means to pay, he becomes bankrupt. Therefore, no employer ought to hire men to work, unless he is positively certain that he can pay the men whenever they demand their wages. Another proposition I also subjoin, viz.

That there ought to be circulating medium enough to employ all those able and willing to labor. I will now prove that a metallic currency could not answer all the demands under a correct system of society: and here the question arises, what is money, and what are its uses? Money is that commodity which the conventional usages of society have agreed to represent capital. Gold, silver, iron, copper, leather, paper, have at various times been made to perform that duty. Labor ought to be the basis of money, not money the basis of labor. Men will part with any and every kind of produce for money. How is it, that by the cunning legerdemain of legal speculators, that bits of gold, and silver, and small portions of paper, will purchase land, houses, clothing, &c.? simply from the conventional usages of society. Gold, or paper, cannot be eaten, or worn as clothing, or shelter, and are not intrinsically of the value of iron. Suppose that to-morrow, all the money, whether made of the precious metals, or of paper, were destroyed, the nation would, in reality, be nothing the poorer; but suppose, that all the food, clothing, and houses, were destroyed, and that each man had one hundred thou-

sand dollars, either in gold or paper, the nation would be all but ruined.

There is wealth in the United States to the amount of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars; it is all nonsense to suppose, that under existing institutions, this capital, or even a twentieth part of it is represented by the present amount of money! As I have before shown, there are five millions of producers in the Union, each earning twelve dollars per week; suppose that each of these received a full equivalent in money for his labor, and suppose that he chooses to maintain his family upon six dollars, and save the other six; this will draw thirty millions of dollars from circulation, each week, or in round numbers, fifteen hundred millions of dollars will be hoarded in one year! Where, I ask, is the circulating medium in existence to meet such a demand and saving? There is not gold enough for even a tenth, or perhaps, a twentieth part! It cannot be denied but there is plenty of the raw material in our country; enough of land, and to spare, to usefully and productively employ every laborer; but it being the interest of the capitalist to keep in his possession the control of the circulating medium, in order to have the laborer more completely at his mercy. It would be impossible for this to be the case, were labor the basis of money; that is, did the circulating medium belong to the nation, and only represent labor instead of capital, as it does now! Man is an accumulating animal, and it is evident, that if our social arrangements were such that each individual received the full value of his labor, the disposition to labor would become pretty general. When men produce food, or clothes, or houses, and sell them to society, they expect an equivalent for them; but if they require not to con-

sume all the value of their productions, from day to day, they ask society to give them a representative for their labor; that is, they wish to have money. It matters not, therefore, whether the money be made of earthenware, gold, silver, copper, iron, or paper. The only thing necessary, is to always regulate the circulating medium by the amount of capital produced. It appears that paper possesses in itself the qualities, that it is the most portable, most easy made, and will last sufficiently long, to cause it to be adopted as the money of the country. All money is to be issued by the nation; each note marked one, five, ten, twenty, fifty, one hundred, each to represent the number of day's labor, as the respective notes are numbered. There is, then, no bank but one, and that the people's; no person will be driven to borrow money, because no individual can speculate with it. No issues of notes can take place at any other places than the national stores and workshops. There will be no usury, because, as all will have to labor, and to give equal values for equal values, interest will be unknown! There cannot be any broken banks, because labor will never become bankrupt! The nation cannot fail to itself! There can be no forgeries, no counterfeit notes, because as the reputation of every man is known, and as all are expected to labor, the forger and counterfeiter would be easily detected; all monies come direct from the national workshops, and are presented by the owner for goods, at them again for there is to be no employment except what is given by the nation; therefore, the possibility of forging is entirely removed. The only reason why money will be at all wanted, is that individuals will wish to remove from one part of the United States to another, and this money, the repre-

sentative of so many day's labor, will enable its owner to obtain goods in any part of the Union.

I have no objection to have gold and silver as the circulating medium, provided that the economists can furnish enough for the wants of society; but as it has already been proved, there cannot be near enough, the thing must be useless from the scantiness of the article. The reason why paper money has been such a curse, is that it has hitherto been used by the speculators and the bankers, to raise and fall the value of the productions of labor. It is, therefore, against the evils of the paper system that I wage hostility, and not against bank notes themselves. Paper money, like machinery, may, and can, and will be ultimately used to benefit the proletarian, instead of to injure him, as it does now. All the notes issued will have the best kind of security for their redemption, viz. the whole amount of capital deposited in the national warehouses. There can be only as many notes issued as there are number of day's labor deposited, and whenever any of this wealth is drawn from the warehouse, the notes for its value are presented, thus always making the supply and the demand tally. Intrinsically, paper money is almost valueless, and now is only used through the conventionalities of society. Intrinsically, the precious metals are as valueless as paper, except where and when they may be used in the arts, or for medicinal purposes, and the same conventional usages have called them money. But is it not folly to waste so much time in digging for gold and silver, when those so employed might be engaged at more healthy occupations?

It will now be seen, that the issuing of bank notes, under the present system, is a scheming chain of transactions from beginning to end; that as the profit-

mongers have the control of the currency, they either make money scarce or plenty, as it best answers their villainous purposes; and the inevitable consequences of these expansions and contractions, are to make merchandise of the very heart's blood of the producing classes; to retain them entirely, completely, and eternally bound, hand and foot, body and soul, to the torturing car of capital!

CHAPTER XXIII.

EQUAL EXCHANGES.

I HAVE thus far traced the social and political inequalities which I witness before, behind, and around me. The two primary steps to be taken in the establishment of a better system than the present, I have shown to be the freedom of the soil of a country to all its citizens, and the formation of an equalizing system of money. I now intend to demonstrate how the laborer shall secure to himself the full value of all his productions.

The nation must become the employer as well as it has become the landholder, and the banker.—Therefore, all the railways, canals, schools, colleges, towns, halls, mines, fisheries, shipping, et cetera, belong to the Commonwealth, not only as a matter of right, but as a matter of prudence, to prevent the remotest approach to monopoly by individuals. A central national workshop and warehouse, with branches in each two miles square, built upon the most approved principles, will be established, in which are deposited all kinds of goods, raw and fabricated.

Distributors of wealth are annually chosen by the people, to superintend these warehouses and workshops. The labor of one man will be considered of the same value as the labor of another man, neither more nor less. A shoemaker's as a hatter's, a hod carrier's as a judge's, an agriculturist's as a senator's. This will prevent favoritism, or aristocracy in trades, professions, or callings; labor will be then no longer degraded, therefore, every man will labor. Then every additional improvement in machinery will be a blessing to the race! Our talents are as various as our countenances; for, inasmuch as the Creator has endowed one man with a capacity to become eminent in mechanics, a second in chemistry, a third in language, a fourth in legislation, a fifth in sculpture, a sixth in poetry, a seventh in handicraft, an eighth in agriculture; so has he made the whole of society to depend upon each of its members, and each to rely upon all, and the more industry and virtue exhibited by any people, the more happy must that people become! It will be recollected that in the chapter upon education, that I there stated, that attached to each school are workshops, suited to the ages and the dispositions of the people. One developes a taste for one branch of business, another for another, and that before they leave school, each understands thoroughly one, two, or three trades. Each would clearly see that he must labor to be independent, and that to be independent, he must labor. Man is not naturally prone to idleness; he is not naturally lazy! Labor is necessary to health, and as labor is no longer degraded, all will willingly and cheerfully labor. Moreover, as the improvements in machinery will be used to shorten human labor, the period of two hours per day will be quite long enough for any person to labor,

to procure for himself all the necessaries and comforts of life!

The national stores are now being established, and the query naturally arises, how are exchanges to be made? how can there be a just estimate of the value of each man's labor? how is a day, or a number of day's labor to be represented? These questions are easily answered—simply by legal enactment. I have already demonstrated, that gold and silver have no intrinsic value in themselves, farther than as far as they may be necessary to be used in the arts, and in medicine. Therefore, the labor expended in the mining, and in the other manufacture of them, is so much valuable time and labor expended for no earthly good whatever. The way to arrange a system of equal values in exchange for equal values, or how to remunerate each trade alike, will be after the following manner:

Every article of production to be valued by the number of day's labor expended in its manufacture. Each trade, profession, or calling, will have to annually report to the legislature, the number of days necessary to produce a given article—always taking care to select good mechanics and fair workmen. Thus, the agriculturist will be one day making a bushel of wheat, a miller, a day grinding a ton of meal, a weaver a day weaving a piece of cloth, a shoemaker a day making a pair of shoes, a hatter a day making a hat. The average being thus ascertained, government will then affix the rates of wages for the current year. It would make no difference, except as to the greater quantity; thus, if a carpenter has to work one hundred days at a house, he is still paid his full equivalent in proportion to the length of time he labors. There is a particular portion of this

theory to be particularly remembered by every working man. That the whole of society rests upon the working man's shoulders: thus, if there are twenty millions of people in a country, and that five millions of them are engaged at productive labor; suppose those five millions are at work during the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, each person supports three and himself; but suppose that in the next year, the population remaining the same, that one million of the five retire from labor, or become capitalists, and speculators, there are but four millions of producers then; then each has to maintain four persons and himself. Let another million again become capitalists, the following year, and there will be then six persons quartered upon each laborer! The really useful classes have to support every other class: thus, if a man is engaged in the manufacture of razors warranted not to shave, of knives warranted not to cut, of shoes warranted to leak the first time used, of prints warranted to fade the first time washed, all the individuals engaged in this scheming labor, consume food, clothing, and houses, and are, therefore, kept by those who produce these last named articles. But under a system of equal values for equal values, none of the above useless commodities would be produced, because by the nation becoming the general employer, no goods will be taken into the warehouses, except those which are well made. All persons engaged at labor, know before hand the amount the articles they are producing will bring; they know that they must make the goods perfect, and that then they will be paid the legal price, neither more nor less. In the purchase of goods no man can be cheated, as the store can only have one price, therefore, each person knows that he cannot be shaved of

even the value of a cent! Here, then, is the beauty of the system: that all men must labor; that all must labor usefully; that all labor will be equally rewarded! Thus verifying the beautiful principle of St. Paul, that "he that does not work neither shall he eat."

I am well aware that there will be all kinds of objections and objectors to such a system. Every possible device of the idle, of the scheming, and of the swindling classes, will be set in motion to thwart, to counteract, to prevent the accomplishment of such a system. The bankers and the brokers, the hoary headed Senator and the learned judge, the crafty lawyer and the skilful surgeon, the princely merchant and the sanctimonious clergyman, the criticising editor and the pompous actor, the army general and the naval commodore, the southern slaveholder and the western land shark, the eastern millionaire and the northern manufacturer, the grasping speculator and the remorseless monopolist, with their whole train of greedy dupes, will wage a common and united war against the introduction of such a system of justice, of equality, of fraternity! The advocates of this system will be maligned, vilified, and calumniated. False reports of their morality, of their honesty, and of their religion, will be most assiduously circulated. Money, time, and perverted talents, will be not spared, to ruin them in public estimation! The mildest names applied to them, will be fools and fanatics; but if ridicule will not silence them, or arrest the onward progress of their principles, then will they be denounced as infidels, anarchists, as terrorists and levellers, as destructives, and Robespierrians; and should their doctrines still continue to make headway, then it is that the whole strength of the accursed land

and moneyed lords, will be put forth to exterminate, by brute force, these truly great and good men, who would wish to disenthral the working man from his bondage and degradation. I am ready and willing to admit, that there are some few honorable exceptions among the classes above enumerated, but sorry I am, that they are so few—so very few!

"God did not make this world for landlords and capitalists, much less did He give them a charter for sacrificing the human race to their rapacity! If it were only to save their souls from perdition, (if such devils can have souls,) a termination ought to be put to their hellish aggressions on humanity! They have already made the life of man more miserable than that of any criminal, brute, or reptile in creation! This world, which but for them might be a paradise of virtue and delight, they have made a pandemonium of crime and wretchedness; arraying man against man, and brother against brother, and setting the nations of the earth to slaughter each other like fiends or beasts of prey, as though the God they pretend to worship, were a God of massacres, and the human race were only made to subserve their lusts, their avarice, and their base passions! Landlords and capitalists, beware! The laboring classes are willing to forget your past oppressions and impostures—tempt them not too far; like the Being they worship, they prefer mercy to sacrifice, and even now (after all the miseries you have inflicted on them,) are more willing to pardon your crimes than you are to pardon their virtues; but lay not the flattering unction to your souls, that it will be always as easy to make terms with them as it is now! A day may come when their forbearance may turn to the phrenzy of despair, and when the tempest of revolution shall sweep away

all that is flexible and enduring in their natures! It is for you, capitalists and landlords, to avert that day, by timely concession! If you do, the millions, who are always generous, will merge the past in the future! If you do not, you will be answerable before God and man, for all the consequences!"

CHAPTER XXIV.

EQUAL EXCHANGES.—(*Continued.*)

The most feasible objection which can be made in opposition to this theory is, that it is too complicated, and therefore, impracticable. This is always the case whenever any thing is propounded which has for its object the elevation of the laborer. Despots and their tools, always raise this cry; but let me ask the hand loom weaver, who is receiving the paltry sum of three dollars for a week's wages, or the agriculturist, who is receiving two and a half, or the sailor, or soldier, who gets twenty-five cents a day, for the privilege of being shot at, whether or not a change might not be deemed practical for them.

Again, it is stated, "that it will destroy energy, and talent, and genius"—that is not true! and those who make the assertion, do so under the most perfect conviction of its falsehood! If they did so through ignorance they might be forgiven; but as they do not do it in any other way, and for any other purpose, than to prevent a change for the benefit of the working man being consummated, they are doubly guilty! Under a system of equal exchanges, instead of talent being repressed, it would be developed in a thousand

times a greater degree than under existing circumstances. The reasons are obvious—with the present social arrangements, the mass have no time for study, for education; the whole struggle of life is for a mere animal subsistence! How can any man study after a day's long, and hard, and incessant toil? I speak of myself, and for myself, in this case; the ideas I have here arranged, I have long entertained. I often thought to write a book of this nature; but was hitherto deterred, from the fact of my time being too much occupied to obtain a bare subsistence; and this book, with all its imperfections, has been the result of hours upon hours of my usual rest abstracted: were a system of equal values for equal values, in operation, it could be written in a couple of weeks! Two hours per day, would be a maximum for a day's labor! The steam plough, and iron horse, would then work for all. Human labor would be greatly abridged from what it is at present. When men were certain that this small portion of time would be sufficient to procure all the necessaries and comforts of life, this very labor being necessary for, and keeping the human system in health, would they not devote their surplus leisure hours to the improvement of their minds? As all had received a sound, practical education at school, the foundation had been laid for further and greater, nay, for the greatest improvement. In a state of society where all are carefully educated, and where all have time and means to study, what might not be the state of knowledge: political economy, history, chemistry, mathematics, mechanics, would be within the reach of all, and where the world has hitherto produced one Franklin, one Newton, one Jefferson, one Rousseau, one Shakspeare, one Fulton, one Arkwright, one Faustus, it would, henceforward, produce thousands

of such men; so that instead of talents being repressed, they would be called forth!

How is it at present, that factitious circumstances favor the wealthy classes, who possess all the education to themselves, or whenever an unusual degree of talent is manifested by a working man, he is taken into the ranks of the oppressors, unless he is too honest and philanthropic, and then his whole life is one of daily martyrdom. This monopoly of knowledge can never be destroyed, only by extensively diffusing that knowledge, and that knowledge can never be thoroughly, and extensively, and permanently diffused only under a system of equal exchanges. Destroy energy and talent, forsooth, and level all men to one standard! If there is to be levelling, it will be upwards and not downwards; it will be the elevation of all instead of the degradation of any! As two hours will be a maximum for a day's labor, those who are anxious to hoard, can do so by performing more labor, and the man who chooses to work twelve hours per day, can save as much by one year's labor as will maintain him for the space of five other years. This wealth he can command whenever he desires it. But he cannot use his wealth to abstract from any other individual, the shadow of a shade of a cent, in the shape of profit! Indeed, under the system of equal exchanges, there cannot be any other employer than the nation, and for the following reasons: As the legal value is affixed for the labor expended upon the production of all articles of produce, and as the producer cannot receive more nor less than that legal value, it is clear, that he will labor for no person who will not render him an honest equivalent for his toil, and this no private employer can pay; because, if he employs workmen, he must

pay them more than the nation will pay, and after he has obtained their productions, he must take them to the national warehouses, for sale, where he will only receive for them their fair value; by this operation he becomes a loser; and it is to be presumed, that few if any will attempt the foolish experiment: in addition, the independence which would be the lot of every man, the sound, practical knowledge possessed by each man, would effectually debar even an approximation to a system of wages slavery, and debasement! As the new improvements in machinery would be introduced, it would be for the general good of all, because it would shorten human labor in the aggregate!

I have reasoned thus upon the domestic productions of our citizens; I now proceed to show, that our foreign commerce could be safely conducted upon equitable principles. Teas, coffees, and other articles of consumption, are required by our people. Now, it is not to be supposed that the foreigner will send us his produce for nothing. How is our government to act? simply to exchange equal values for equal values. Look at its effects: a famine visits one or more of the countries of the world, the inhabitants of which are plunged in the greatest destitution. Do we take advantage of this hunger, as the speculators have done, to raise the prices of provisions to an unjust standard? Do we raise the price of flour to ten dollars per barrel? we do no such thing; we send them flour at the cost of its production and transit; we send them millions of barrels of it at first cost, because the nation regulates all the transactions of trade! Their flour, on delivery, would not cost them more than five dollars per barrel. By the United States acting thus, they would astonish the world;

and as like begets like, the nations of Europe, having this country before their eyes, as an example of justice and equality, would endeavor to imitate us, and throw off the oppressive yoke of those classes, whose aim and interest it is to keep them in chains and slavery! For it is a fact, that the despots of Europe and their minions, always chuckle at, and triumph forth every act of folly committed by this Republic, and it is also a fact, that the degraded and down-trodden masses look to America as a beacon of light, to guide them in their struggles for freedom.

I have proved that a circulating medium of paper would answer all the internal exchanges among ourselves; but as other countries might still continue to be guided in their mercantile transactions with us, by the precious metals, we would be compelled, in that case, to regulate our commerce with them upon similar principles. The goods we send, where a balance of trade could not be arranged, we would have to receive gold and silver, and when they sent us goods the circumstance would be simply reversed; the government would place the amount of money received in their vaults, and pay it out again as circumstances would warrant. By the establishment of this system, all the nations of the earth would at no remote period be united in one vast brotherhood of mutual interests and friendship; national differences would be amicably settled; the golden age would again revisit the earth; war would be known no more, and the beautiful maxim would become generally and permanently established all over the earth, viz. "peace upon earth, and good will to men."

CHAPTER XXV.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

I HAVE here rudely thrown together the outlines of a system which will yet, in a more perfect form, have to be adopted by the whole family of man. This theory I by no means consider complete in all its parts. I am anxious to have it subjected to the most careful examination. I leave the hackneyed expression aside, "that all the writer aims at is truth;" if this theory be the true one, it will ultimately succeed, if not, it will perish! There is one thing to be said, and that is, that I have been extremely careful in my quotations and statistics, always endeavoring to the utmost of my ability, to fairly convey the meaning of my author. The time has, indeed, arrived when we ought to endeavor to perfect the great work unconsummated by the French Revolution of seventeen hundred and ninety-three. Revolutions have followed revolutions; changes of government have again and again been made; dynasty has overthrown dynasty; religions have succeeded religions; patriarchal, aristocratical, despotic, monarchical, feudal, and commercial systems, have each, in their turn, held sway over the world; empires have passed away until hardly a vestige of them remains.

"Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage; where are they?"

Conquerors, at different times, have made the globe one vast scene of slaughter and desolation. But through all the phases of these events, there were no practical attempts made to elevate the proletarians in the scale of human improvement and happiness, until

that most eventful of all eventful epochs, the French Revolution! The oppressors of mankind, prior to that grand and sublime era, never dreamt that the working man would dare, for a moment, to assume his proper position in the scale of civilization. The mass of mankind, until then, were denominated and treated as helots and serfs, as plebeians and slaves, as ryots and peasantry, as boors and canaille, as mob and rabble! This system of things could not endure forever. The immortal mind of the benevolent Rousseau, shed its illumining influence over the souls of the French people, and like lightning, it touched the extremest portions of France. Then it was, that the French nation, as one man, arose in its might to shake off the manacles of tyranny! EQUALITY became the watchword of the French Republicans; a word which caused the sceptres, and hierarchies, and dynasties, and the blood-cemented thrones of landlordism and usury to quail and tremble! Then it was, that the whole of the monarchical despots of Europe banded together, like brigands, as they were, and are, to strangle the doctrines of the equality of mankind, and to butcher honest French Republicans!

The following stanzas, selected from one of the songs of that day, will illustrate this assertion.

When France, wearied out with the bonds of oppression,
Thought fit to decree that proud Louis should fall;
Denying the pope's and the clergy's possession,
Then Europe against her declared, one and all.
Vengeance, vengeance, terrible vengeance!
Threatened to ruin fair liberty's sons:
Kings, statesmen, and clergy, with all their energy,
Directed against them their prayers and their guns.

The emperor, the pope, and the great king of Prussia,
These three, in alliance, conspired her doom;

The Spanish, the Dutch, and the empress of Russia,
With Piedmont, and Naples, the servants of Rome.
And England, England—foolish, vain England,
Never took rest till she entered the league,
Expecting the laurel for joining the quarrel;
This also involved poor Sawney and Teague.

Why did this conspiracy take place? because the French Republicans had laid the axe to the tree of monopoly, and were bent upon cutting it to the very root! They had determined upon having a social as well as a political revolution. They had resolved to establish a system of equal exchanges. They preferred the producer, the useful man, the proletarian, to the idler, the aristocrat, or the king. For these reasons did the banditti of Europe unite to destroy the revolution, and to murder the stern patriots who were directing it. For these monsters well knew, that if the revolution could be perfected, the death knell of their tyrannic sway was tolled forever! This was the secret of bloody Brunswick's manifesto in favor of the perfidious Louis. Does any one imagine that the aristocratical brigands of Europe cared for the life of the Capet? No—but they cared for their own power of plundering the people; that power they were resolved to uphold under the plausible pretext of rendering assistance to the king. They dreaded that the revolution might be turned to the cause of humanity, and they resolved not to permit it. The successful prowess of the French armies, struck consternation into the ranks of their opponents. When, therefore, the land and moneyed lords saw the success of their schemes frustrated openly, they set to work in private, and by despatching their emissaries through France, they set internal treason in motion, and they ceased not in their machinations until they arrested

the current of equality, and murdered those pure and consistent patriots who advocated the rights of mankind! Robespierre, and his virtuous copatriots, were ruthlessly sacrificed by these miscreants, because he endeavored to turn the revolution to the account of humanity—to the benefit of mankind; in fact, it was the intention of him and his coadjutors to establish a just order of things in France; to make the laborer worthy of his hire; to allow no drones in the social hive: for endeavóring to achieve so great, so benign, and so hazardous an undertaking, the landlords and usurers of France, aided by their foreign brethren in iniquity, murdered him as well as St. Just and others; and not only did they do that, but by their infamous lies and slanders, they have blasted his character, until now the mass of mankind, in every country, look upon Robespierre as one of the most infamous monsters that ever disgraced the human species! Whereas, the facts of the case are vice versa.

It is evident to every honest mind, that the present system is radically wrong. No person will attempt to justify it, except those who live upon its abuses. Opposition, bitter, hostile, and deadly to the principles advocated in this book, is a thing to be expected, as a matter of course. The reformer who imagines that a great social change can be accomplished without having to endure a fiery ordeal, will find himself greatly mistaken.—History proves the truth of this statement.

I now conclude by quoting from the Democratic Review, the following remarks: "The history of all nations may be likened to the sponge used in surgical operations; it looks clean and unsoiled to the careless eye, but grasp it firmly, and blood and matter ooze

out of it. If the disgust expressed by the aristocratic historians, at these acts of cruelties, under whatever circumstances committed, by whatever specious pleas of necessity justified, or extenuated, were sincere, they would surely find the same inspirations of vituperative eloquence upon all other occasions; not so, however—their tears of hypocritical sorrow fall only when noble blood has been made to flow; not a sigh, not a word of sympathy, when thousands of low born victims are trodden beneath the iron heels of the war horse, under the pretence to curb the madness of popular aspirations! Had royalty and aristocracy, triumphed in France, and decimated the whole guilty nation, (it was so termed,) we should have lost the eloquent declamations of Burke, and the whole race of aristocratic declaimers and poets, would have remained unpensioned, untitled, and as unknown to their contemporaries as they will certainly be to posterity!"

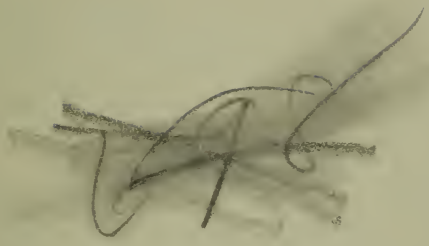
I have now imperfectly concluded my task, and all I request is, that it may be read with the desire to acquire knowledge, for the purpose of erecting a better system of society than is to be found in any part of the world at the present time.

NOTE.—As I had not the following table by me when I wrote the chapter upon trades unions, I insert it here, believing that it will be of the greatest utility to point out to the trades the utter hopelessness of bettering their condition permanently, by any other

means than the principles laid down in this book, or a complete reorganization of society.

Witness the amount of money lost in the following strikes in England.

Cotton spinners of Manchester, in 1810,	£224,000
Again in 1826,	200,000
Since that time,	176,000
Spinners of Preston,	74,313
Town of Preston,	107,096
Glasgow cotton spinners,	47,600
City of Glasgow,	200,000
Loss to County of Lanarkshire,	500,000
Strike in the potteries,	50,000
Leeds mechanics' strike, twelve months,	187,000
Wool Combers of Bradford, ten months,	400,000
Colliers' strike,	50,000
Total,	£2,216,009



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